

## CHAPTER 17

# CLASSIC ACHAEMENIAN ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

### ARCHITECTURE

Good and comprehensive surveys of the art of the Achaemenian empire have been written in recent years.<sup>1</sup> The present essay will therefore merely summarize the characteristics of classic Achaemenian art as they are revealed in the principal monuments. In view of David Stronach's discussion in this volume of the buildings and reliefs at Pasargadae, which manifest the early stage of Achaemenian art, it is the classic phase of it, revealed in the works sponsored by Darius and Xerxes, which will be discussed here, as well as – briefly – the relatively slight modifications it underwent in the reliefs of the later kings of the Achaemenian dynasty.

In art, as in politics, Cyrus and Darius I applied themselves to organizing and inspiring large numbers of people of diverse ethnic and cultural origin. They succeeded in stimulating builders and sculptors to create at Pasargadae, Persepolis and Susa a style of art expressive of imperial majesty and so distinctive as to be immediately recognizable. This style is all the more remarkable because it was produced by peoples of many lands with different traditions and aesthetic predilections affecting the technical procedures used in architecture and sculpture, the types of buildings, and the repertory of images.

The proudest monument of Persian art, Persepolis, whose ancient name was Pārsa, owed its existence to Darius, a scion of a secondary line of Achaemenians. Darius emerged victorious in 521 B.C. from battles which broke out with insurgents after the death of Cambyses, the eldest son of Cyrus.

Persepolis is built on the spur of a mountain which was partly flattened and partly built up with stone blocks to form the gigantic terrace up to 15 metres high on which palatial buildings were to stand

<sup>1</sup> Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*; and Root, *King and Kingship*.

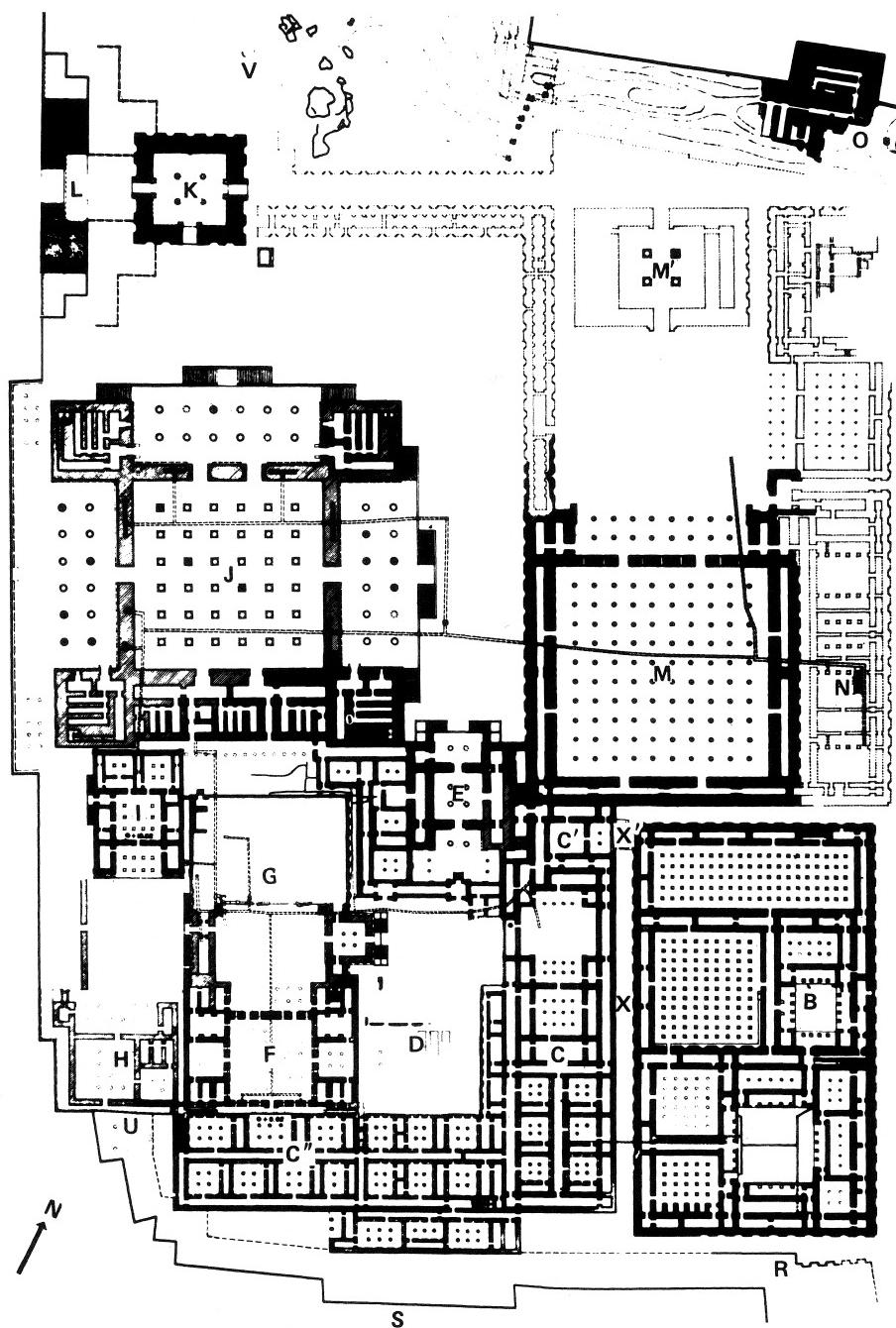


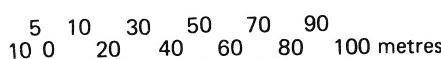
Fig. 1. Plan of Persepolis terrace by Richard C. Haines [see following page for key].

## ARCHITECTURE

above the plain, elevated and secure. Today, the slender columns of the buildings are visible from a distance. In Achaemenian times these buildings were partly hidden by an encircling wall which can be seen in the model (pl. 13) made in 1968 by Friedrich Krefter, architect of Ernst Herzfeld, the first modern excavator of Persepolis from 1931 to 1934.<sup>1</sup> The height and vastness of the Terrace and the grandeur of its structures, even in their ruined state, have made it one of the most impressive sights surviving from antiquity. In the Terrace wall carefully dressed stones, most of them rectangular blocks of different sizes, were fitted together without mortar. They create a feeling of great strength, while the sharp edges of the corners, formed by the flanking sections

<sup>1</sup> F. Krefter, "Persepolis im Modell", *AMI* II (1969), pp. 123–37 and pls 55–8.

- B Treasury
- C Restored main wing of harem
- C' Service quarters of harem
- C'' West wing of harem
- D Palace D
- E Council Hall
- F Palace of Xerxes
- G Palace G
- H Palace H
- I Palace of Darius I
- J Apadana
- K Gate of Xerxes
- L Terrace stairway
- M Throne Hall
- M' Unfinished gate
- N Stairway to drainage tunnel
- O Northern fortification
- R Southern fortification
- S Foundation Inscription of Darius I
- U Post-Achaemenid pavilion?
- V Unfinished column drum
- X "Harem street"
- X' Secondary rooms



- — Existing features
- Reconstructed features
- - - Sub-surface drains
- Surface drains
- Reconstructed parapets, benches, etc.
- \* — Additions after survey by Iranian Antiquity Service

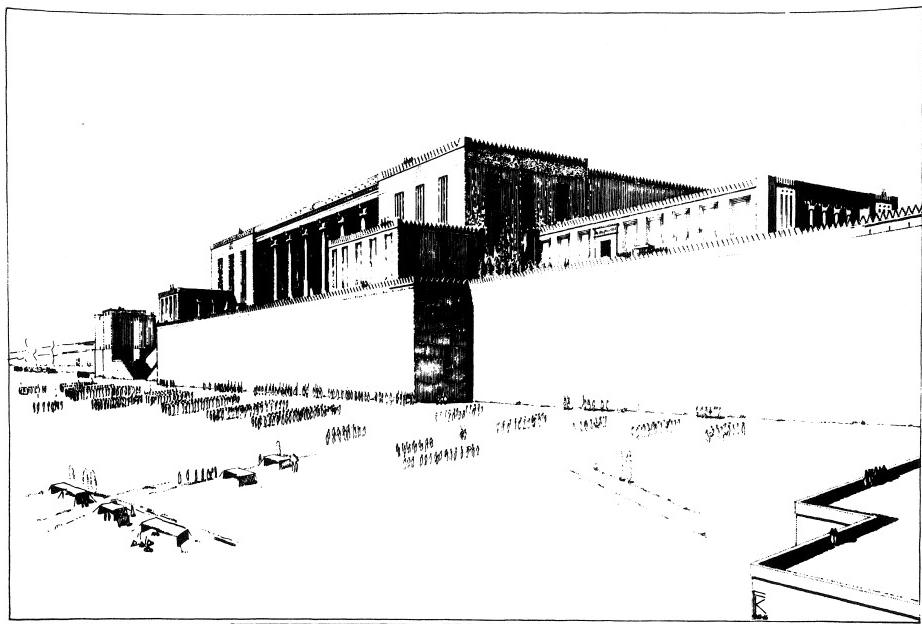


Fig. 2. The West Front of the Apadana, seen from the plain below the terrace, reconstructed by Friedrich Krefter.

of the wall, repeatedly guide the viewer's eye to the full height of the Terrace (pl. 14).

The focal point of all the structures on the Terrace, as seen in the plan (fig. 1), was the Audience Hall called Apadana by the excavators on the basis of that name being found on columns of a similar later building at Susa. The Apadana at Persepolis (pl. 15*a*; figs 2, 3) consisted of an immense columnar hall, 60.50 metres square with corner towers flanking each of the three porches as well as the furniture store-rooms which were accommodated at the back. The columns of the main hall were over 19 metres high, that is a height of about five floors in a modern apartment-house. Two pairs of foundation tablets in gold and silver were found in the north-east and south-east corners of the hall. The inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian reads: "Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Says Darius the king: this is the kingdom which I hold, from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana to Ethiopia; from India to Sardis - (the kingdom) which to me Ahuramazda gave, the greatest of the gods. May Ahuramazda protect me and my royal house."<sup>1</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1, p. 70.

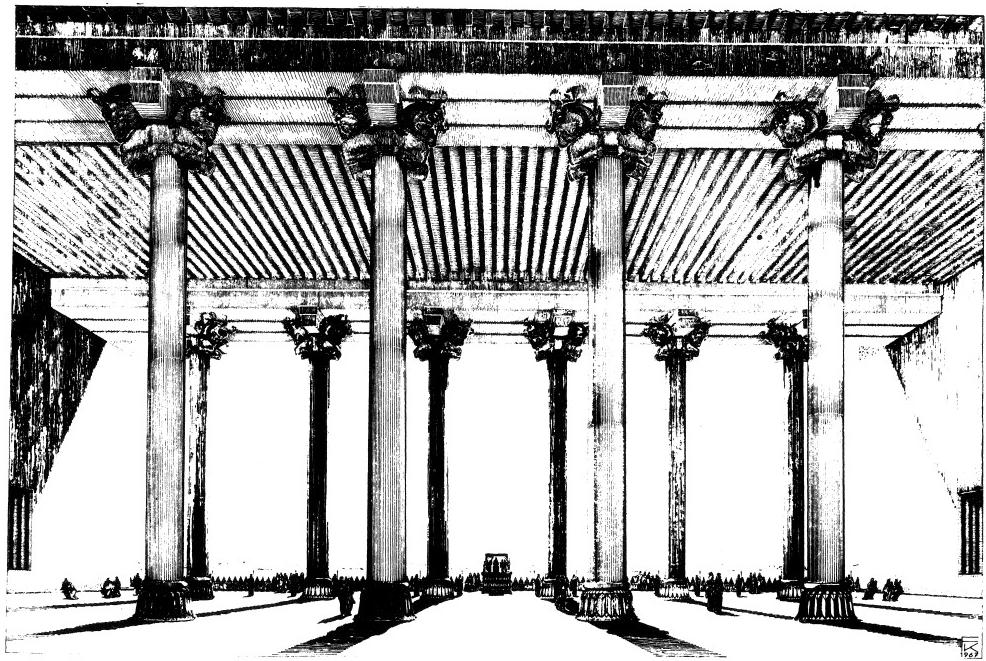


Fig. 3. The West Porch of the Apadana, seen from the inside, reconstructed by Friedrich Krefter.

the entrance to the south-eastern tower were emplacements for guardian figures of two seated, powerful and dignified mastiffs, animals which had not been used in this manner in the Near East. Their form was similar to that of a seated dog from Egypt,<sup>1</sup> made in the Ptolemaic period. Before the north-eastern tower entrance there were probably two ibexes,<sup>2</sup> again guardian figures for which no prototypes exist in ancient Western Asia.

The columns of the Apadana were among the most richly decorated; they will be described in detail because their multiple elements of different origin<sup>3</sup> seem to suggest the concept of a world empire composed of different peoples, as expressed in the inscription of Darius just quoted. Not all the columns have all the elements here cited, some are much plainer. All, however, have a bell-shaped base decorated with plant designs (fig. 4). Above this was a plain torus upon which rested the shaft with as many as 48 flutes, more than were ever used on columns in Greece, where the idea of fluting had originated. The capital of the column has as its lowest member a ring of drooping sepals reminiscent of north Syrian and Phoenician furniture decoration.<sup>4</sup> A bead-and-reel circlet divides the sepals from the rising plant forms, reminiscent of Egyptian segmented palm-leaf capitals. Moreover, each segment has a papyrus flower in the centre. Above this Egyptianizing feature is again a bead-and-reel circlet, which divides it from a connecting piece with eight vertical double scrolls, related to designs common in the Levant, where they are usually employed horizontally, as in ivories from Cyprus, Nimrud and other sites which have yielded Phoenician ivory decorations.<sup>5</sup> On top of the scrolls is a third bead-and-reel circlet, on which rest the feet of the double animal protome, which forms the impost capital. The combination of truly floral and geometrical motifs in these richly ornamented columns of Persepolis is in contrast to the strictly architectural development which eastern Mediterranean elements like scrolls and hanging sepals have taken in Ionian structures. They manifest the different requirements and taste in Persia and Ionia.

In the Apadana the impost capitals were in the form of bull-protomes

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, p. 70 and notes 31 and 32; pl. 36 A, B.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, p. 70, pl. 36 C.

<sup>3</sup> This analysis of the column owes much to H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 222–5.

<sup>4</sup> H. Kyrkleis, *Throne und Klinen* (Berlin, 1969) (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft 24), pl. 13.

<sup>5</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its remains II* (New York, 1966), p. 565, nos 506, 507.

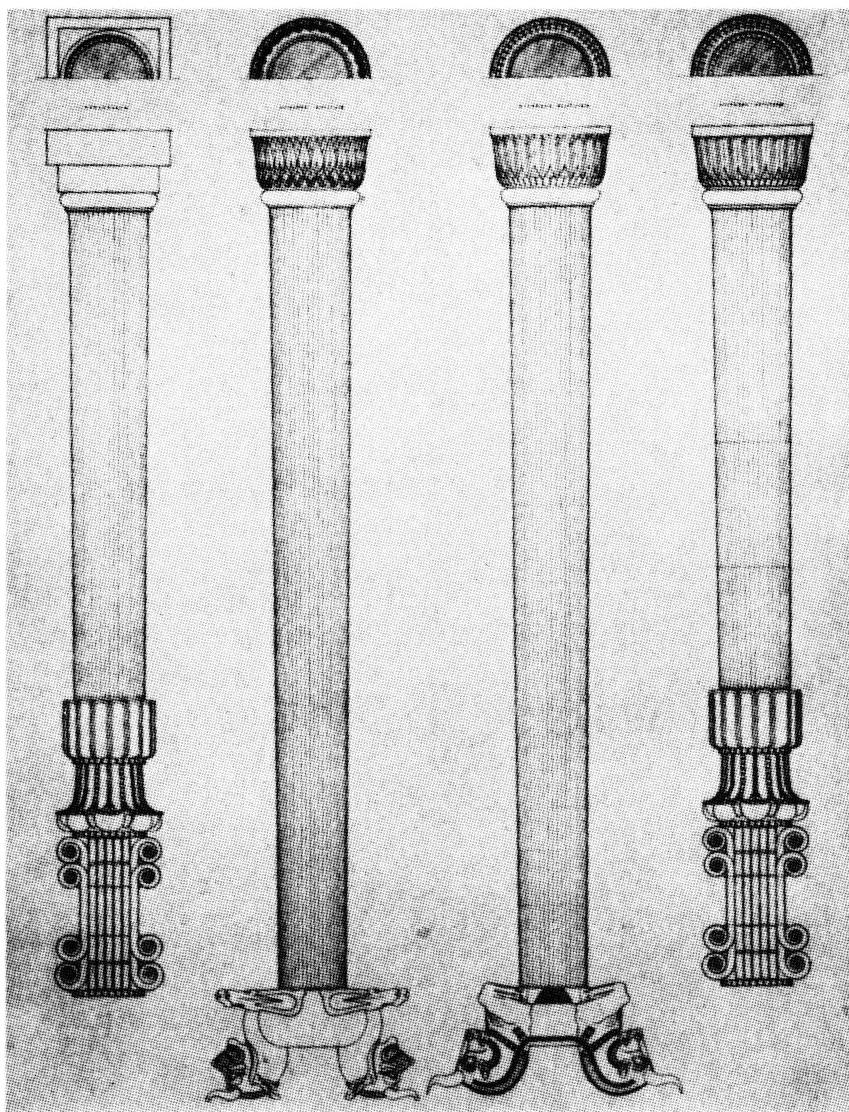


Fig. 4. The columns of the Apadana, reconstructed by Friedrich Krefter.

on the very ornate columns of the main hall as well as on the plainer ones of the porches, except in the east porch where there are horned lion dragons. The rare surviving ones of these protomes have a majestic cast of features, as do those of Darius' palace at Susa, which are better preserved.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A fine photograph in colour was published by W. Hinz, *Darius und die Perser* (Baden Baden, 1976), pl. 17.

To the total effect of the Apadana belong the monumental stairways which led up to the porticoes on the east and on the north (pl. 5). The parapets and stairway façades were covered with reliefs of courtiers, guards, and peoples of the realm bringing gifts. The great Audience reliefs of the king, later removed to the Treasury, were in the centre. These reliefs served to enliven the wall-surfaces even at a distance. Some of the details will be discussed more fully below, in an evaluation of their sculptural style. Although no colour is preserved on the reliefs today, there is evidence that they were originally painted.<sup>1</sup>

In the last part of the reign of Darius, access to the Terrace and the approach to the Apadana was probably already over stairs located in the same place as those in use today. However, the stage-like effect of these stairs, which start close together, then diverge and then come together again at the top, may have been a later development.<sup>2</sup>

After having reached the top of the stairs, the visitor would have entered the Gate of All Lands (pl. 15b), a building which may have been begun by Darius but was completed by Xerxes, who claimed in an inscription to have erected the structure. In the same inscription, however, he added "much else (that is) beautiful (was) done throughout Pārsa which I did and which my father did; whatever work seems beautiful, all that we did by the grace of Ahuramazda."<sup>3</sup> No such elaboration is found in those inscriptions of Xerxes where he alone was certainly the builder.<sup>4</sup>

Bulls confront the viewer at the external, western entrance of the gate, whereas on the other side, which faces toward the buildings on the Terrace, there are gigantic human-headed bulls, doubtless meant as protectors of the Terrace. While the shape of these composite creatures was taken over from Late Assyrian guardian figures<sup>5</sup> the fact that they appear to be looking onto the Terrace, instead of striding, as in the

<sup>1</sup> Tilia, "Colour in Persepolis", in *Studies II*, p. 6; she mentions an area 2·50 metres long and close to the base of the parapet of the northern Stairway, where lumps of green, red, and blue colour were found and also several potsherds with pigments of the same colours encrusted upon them; this discovery seems to indicate that in this place work had been done on painting the bas-reliefs of the stairway façade.

<sup>2</sup> The present stairs show a later type of clamps and less careful work than the early structures on the Terrace, see Tilia, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4. <sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription on the stairway façade of the Palace of Xerxes reads: "Says Xerxes, the Great King, by the grace of Ahuramazda this *hadish* I made. Let Ahuramazda with the gods protect me and my kingdom and what (was) done by me". Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> The closest parallels to the human-headed bulls of Persepolis are those of Sargon (721-705 B.C.) at Khorsabad. See E. Strommenger-Max Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, 1964), pls. 220-1, but the gate figures of the later Assyrian kings are not known; they may have been equally close.

Assyrian emplacement, to meet the enemy arriving from outside, indicates some change to a specifically Persian meaning, on which a suggestion has been made.<sup>1</sup>

At right angles to the axis of the Gate of All Lands is a third opening, the widest, which gives onto the square before the Apadana. From the darkness of the gate chamber the sight of the Apadana, with its splendid socle reliefs topped by the lofty portico's black columns against the light background of the walls, must have been overwhelming.

This great effect was not the result of a single plan devised by the architects of Darius at the beginning of the building activities on the Terrace. Careful observation by Giuseppe and Ann Britt Tilia has revealed a continual change of plans, due most probably to the changing ideas of Darius about his Terrace.

At first, access was from the south in a recess, next to the inscription in which Darius invoked the protection of Ahuramazda for himself and the "fortress" which he had built.<sup>2</sup>

All scholars agree that the Treasury was the first building on the Terrace. To understand why it was the first, one would have to know for which purpose the Terrace was erected. At present we know only what Persepolis was not: it was no administrative centre such as Susa certainly was, just as presumably Ecbatana, and not Pasargadae, was the administrative centre for the empire of Cyrus. One can only suggest, in respect of the Treasury, that concern for security must have played a major role.

The second building was the relatively small residential palace of Darius, set on the highest spot of the Terrace.

Back to back with it the Apadana was built, as a rectangular structure. As such it would have resembled the columnar halls at Pasargadae and the recently identified remains of an audience hall of Cambyses at Dasht-i Gohar, 150 metres distant from his unfinished tomb. It seems that Cambyses had attempted to create a residence of his own, resembling Pasargadae in the plain of Marv Dasht not far from the site later chosen by Darius for Persepolis.<sup>3</sup> Cambyses did not proceed very far with his

<sup>1</sup> H. von Gall, "Relieffragment eines elymäischen Königs aus Masged-e Soleiman", *Iranica Antiqua* xv (1980), pp. 244–5 took up an earlier suggestion for identification of the human-headed bulls with the bull-man Gopatshāh, a creature half man, half ox which is thought to pour holy water into the sea where innumerable evil creatures will be destroyed; if this is not done, they will appear as rain. Dale Bishop, however, tells me that Gopatshāh is a rather obscure figure.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> W. Kleiss, "Zur Entwicklung der achaemenidischen Palastarchitektur", *Iranica Antiqua* xv (1980), pp. 199–211.

buildings; his tomb was certainly not ready to receive his body when he died. The layout of the audience hall of Cambyses resembled Palace S at Pasargadae more closely than the later Apadana at Persepolis, forming an intermediate link between the two.<sup>1</sup>

The major change which Darius introduced in the Apadana was that the building, rectangular at first, was transformed into a square one. This meant an extension to the west not only of the Apadana but also of the wall of the Terrace itself, so as to ensure sufficient room for the portico in the west. The reason for the change is unknown,<sup>2</sup> but it determined the appearance of every Achaemenian hall built thereafter. The Apadana of Susa, for example, has almost the same size as that of Persepolis, while the main Hall of a Hundred Columns, also called Throne Hall, at Persepolis, built by Xerxes and finished by Artaxerxes, merely shows an enlargement of the scheme created in the Apadana Hall.

These great buildings on the northern side of the Terrace, viz. the Gate of All Lands, the Apadana, and the Hall of a Hundred Columns, constitute the official and public structures. By contrast the buildings on the southern side are, at least in part, residential, such as the Palace of Darius, back to back with the Apadana, with its floors 2.5 metres higher than those of the Apadana.

The palace opens toward the south, where the original access to the Terrace had been. The building is symmetrical and formal with a hypostyle hall in the centre, a large portico in front, suites of almost symmetrical rooms on the sides, and two large square rooms with symmetrical longitudinal siderooms in the back. An exit on the west side gives onto a stair built by Artaxerxes III. Obviously these buildings were used over generations.

There have been suggestions for a relation of the ground-plan of Darius' palace with the plan of the temple which that king built for the god Amun at Hibis in Khargah Oasis in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> The main similarity consists in the central hypostyle hall being entered through a porch or portico and flanked by symmetrical rectangular rooms. While these relations are somewhat vague, both buildings were constructed according to carefully designed, symmetrical plans. This suggests that the

<sup>1</sup> Kleiss, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> The idea, expressed orally by D. P. Hansen, that the change was intended to satisfy directional and symbolic concepts, deserves further investigation; J. George, "Achaemenid Orientations", in *Akten des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, Munich 1976* (Berlin, 1979) (*AMI* Ergänzungsband 6), pp. 196–206, provides intriguing material for such an interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 26–7.

architects used similar working methods, more dependent on precisely drawn plans than had been the case earlier in the ancient Near East, when plans drawn on clay tablets lacked precision of detail. It is not impossible, therefore, that an Egyptian was the teacher. Moreover, in Darius' palace Egyptianizing cavetto cornices were introduced as a decoration over the lintels of niches, windows and doorways. Subsequently, all buildings at Persepolis were to have such cornices.

It has been established that the floors of the palace, now mostly destroyed, were coloured red like the red-surfaced flooring in the Treasury and in Darius' buildings at Susa and Babylon.<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that red flooring can also be seen in the third building of the so-called temple of Aphaia at Aegina, dated about 500 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> one may ask whether there was influence from one set of buildings to the other and in which direction the influence might have gone.

There is no mention by archaeologists of red flooring in the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis, which indicates perhaps that this feature was limited to the period of Darius. The plan of Xerxes' building resembles that of Darius but was twice as large.

In summary, the contribution made at Persepolis by the architects of Darius and Xerxes to Achaemenian architecture are the square hypostyle hall, the high socle on which important buildings were placed, and the cavetto cornices of the lintels. To this may be added the use of animals not hitherto seen in the Near East as guardian figures.<sup>3</sup>

No original plan appears to have existed for the Terrace,<sup>4</sup> or, if it did, it was radically changed by the new access from the west instead of from the south, as mentioned above. However, there was obvious thought given by Darius to the siting of individual buildings: the Treasury, basically a service building, was placed close to the mountain; the palace of Darius was built on the highest spot of the Terrace; the

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 28, 32, 287.

<sup>2</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (Munich, 1906), p. 48, stated that the red stucco covering the floor in the Pronaos was very well preserved, less so in the Cella. Indeed the red floor covering is still clearly visible and well protected. The date of the temple was given as 500 B.C. by C. Krauss, in K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Berlin, 1967) (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 1), p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Mastiffs, ibexes and bulls, the latter also in the buildings of the plain where in addition a pair of couchant felines was found; Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, p. 70 and pls. 36 A-E and 37 B and C.

<sup>4</sup> E. Herzfeld *Iran in the Ancient East* (Oxford, 1941), p. 224, believed that Darius' architects drafted the plan for all palatial structures on the site; he based this view on the fact that the orifices of some of the tunnels of the drainage system correspond to walls of subsequently erected buildings. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, p. 210, however, saw no reason why the tunnel system existing in Darius' time could not have been subsequently expanded.

Apadana, the greatest hall of its time, looked down on the plain in the west, and could be seen from below and from the two squares in the north and the east, from where the viewer would have been able to take in the full effect of the great building. Later rulers had to fit their structures into the remaining space, always keeping to the orientation set by the buildings of Darius I and linking their edifices visually to their surroundings by means of numerous stairways with carved stairway façades and parapets.

A structure which differs from all others on the Terrace is the parapet (pl. 16), which ran around the south-west corner of the Terrace wall and which was restored by the Tiliās from blocks and fragments that had fallen from the Terrace and were unearthed at the foot of the wall.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of the stoneworking techniques the parapet was dated in the Achaemenian period. It consists of larger and smaller elements crowned by tall slender, horn-like half-cones. The excavators' suggestion that these elements represent altars may point in the right direction for the interpretation of this singular parapet.

For the additional features seen on the parapet the term fortification symbolism may be suggested. The small elements have arrow-shaped forms carved into them, which recall the common form of arrow slot in fortifications from the Assyrian to the Persian period.<sup>2</sup> The large elements have a design composed of squares and triangles which recalls the openings in a tower on a Hittite vase representing a city wall.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, there is a frieze of dentils on which the upper part of each element seems to rest. Such dentils were actually derived from beam-ends supporting an upper structure, as seen on the buildings flanking the temple of the god Haldi at Musasir (fig. 5). Rows of beam-ends may have come to be associated with fortifications and thereby acquired a meaning of protection, derived from the type of structure with which they were associated. Such a development would parallel that of the battlements whose symbolic significance on royal crowns, the crown of Darius for example, is quite evident.

This interpretation of the friezes of dentils in Persian and Median architecture would explain their occurrence on structures which cer-

<sup>1</sup> Tilia, "Reconstruction of the Parapet".

<sup>2</sup> E. Porada, "Battlements in the Military Architecture and Symbolism of the Ancient Near East", in D. Fraser et al. (eds), *Essays in the history of art presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967), pp. 5–6.

<sup>3</sup> E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962), pl. 46.

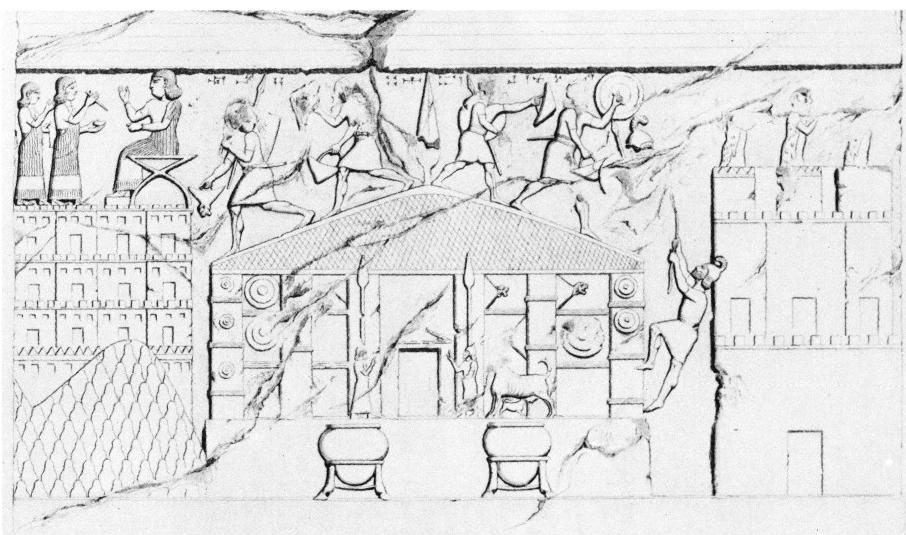


Fig. 5. The Temple of Haldi at Ardin-Musasir, flanked by structures of a walled town; engraving after a relief in the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad.

tainly have a religious meaning, such as the temple of Nūsh-i Jān<sup>1</sup> and the façade of the tomb of Darius (pl. 20), and others for which a religious or ceremonial meaning is probable, like the towers of Pasargadae and Naqsh-i Rustam.<sup>2</sup> Dentils, arrow, and design composed of squares and triangles as on the parapet at Persepolis, occur on merlons of the peribolos of the temple of Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan) of the 2nd century A.D. (pl. 17a), together with the inset blind windows which are topped by dentils at Surkh Kotal as they are at Nūsh-i Jān. The blind window design also occurs on the fire altar seen on the tombs of the Achaemenid kings, as well as in the wall decoration of the above mentioned towers. Probably all these features carried a specific meaning, the end effect of which was to be the protection of the structure and of the people within.

The Tilias believe that the parapet may have belonged to an earlier edifice than the one found by the excavator Erich Schmidt and called by him Palace H. Like many structures on the Terrace, the parapet was never completed. The date and manner of its destruction, by earthquake or human action, are unknown. They add one more group of unanswered questions to those about the precise data and meaning of most of the monuments at Persepolis.

The Achaemenian structures of Susa have become better known within the past decade.<sup>3</sup> However, plans published earlier had made it obvious that the palace of Darius (fig. 6) was built around three courts. It thereby resembled Assyro-Babylonian palaces in which royal apartments, reception and administration rooms, as well as magazines, were all combined within one large edifice. There is similarity especially between the palace of Susa and the royal palace of Babylon, the so-called Südburg. The palace of Darius, however, seems to have been planned in a more unified manner. Moreover, it contains a curious feature: there are large longitudinal rooms with two pairs of projections, which divide off narrow parts of the room at each end. This feature was traced back to Elamite houses of the 2nd millennium B.C. at Susa.<sup>4</sup> It occurs, however, also in the Assyrian palaces of Sargon (721–705 B.C.),

<sup>1</sup> D. Stronach, *Iran* vii (1969), pl. I c, d, II a; another temple is in the Old Western Building; see *Iran* xvi (1978), p. 5, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 20 in the present volume.

<sup>3</sup> See the reports listed by Vanden Berghe, *Bibliographie analytique*, p. 97 Nos. 1266–1271, 1273, especially, J. Perrot and D. Ladiray, "Travaux à l'Apadana", *CDAFI* II (1972), pp. 13–23, and J. Perrot, "L'architecture militaire et palatiale des Achéménides à Suse".

<sup>4</sup> R. Ghirshman, "L'architecture élamite et ses traditions", *Iranica Antiqua* v (1965), pp. 93–102.

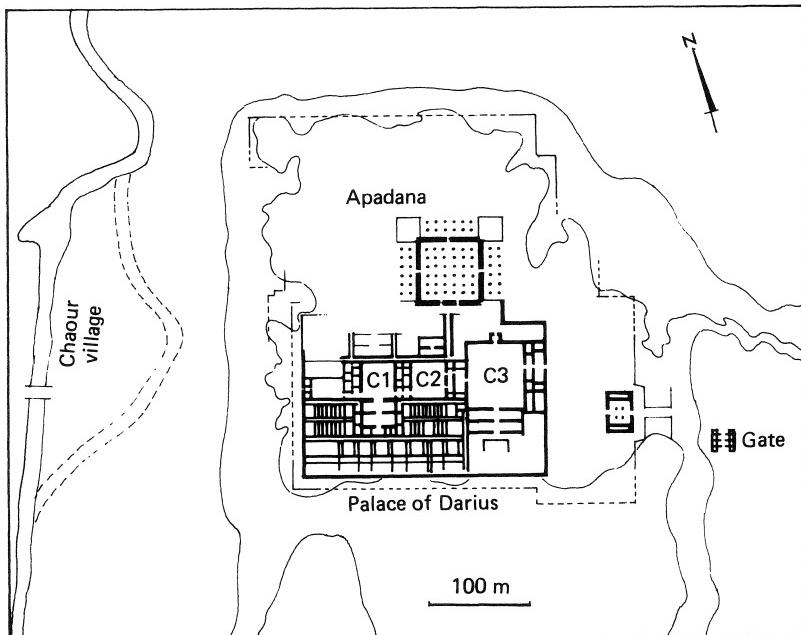


Fig. 6. Plan of the buildings on the Tell of the Apadana at Susa by J. Perrot and D. Ladiray.

Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> At Susa the two longitudinal halls with this enigmatic feature lie before a row of rooms built against the outer wall of the palace, and are thought to be the royal apartments of Darius.<sup>2</sup> From the central one of these rooms lying against the outer wall, there was an unimpaired access to court C-1 through openings in the middle of the long halls which had the so far unexplained projections. In the passage leading to the central room were found two foundation inscriptions beautifully engraved on grey marble slabs.<sup>3</sup> The one on the right side had an inscription in Elamite and was found face up, the one on the left side was in Akkadian and lay face down. In the latter the building was referred to by an Akkadian term meaning "house", in contrast to the foundation inscription found in 1929, which uses the term "palace".<sup>4</sup> Conceivably the

<sup>1</sup> M. Roaf, "The Diffusion of the 'Salles à quatre saillants'", *Iraq* xxxv (1973), pp. 83–91.

<sup>2</sup> P. Amiet, "Quelques observations sur le palais de Darius à Suse", *Syria* li (1974), pp. 65–73.

<sup>3</sup> J. Perrot *et al.*, "Recherches archéologiques à Suse et en Susiane en 1969 et en 1970", *Syria* xlvi (1971), p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> F. Vallat, "Deux nouvelles 'chartes de fondation' d'un palais de Darius 1er à Suse", *Syria* xlvi (1971), p. 56.

term "house" applied to a more intimate part, such as the presumed royal apartments in which the inscriptions were found.

The text of the Elamite inscription contained detailed references to the sources of building materials employed in the structure, as well as to craftsmen of different nationalities. The references are much the same as in the inscription found in 1929. They are here given in a translation of F. Vallat's French text.<sup>1</sup>

(lines 18–26) The palace which (is) at Susa, it is I who have made it. Its materials have been brought from afar. The earth was dug in depth until virgin soil was reached. When it was completely dug out, the foundations were laid in gravel. Upon 20 cubits of depth of that gravel I raised the palace. And what was done concerning the digging down in depth into the earth, and also what was done concerning the foundations in gravel, and also what was done concerning the moulding of bricks, people who (were) Babylonians, they themselves did it.

(lines 26–44) And the beams which (were) of cedar, these were brought from a mountain whose name (is) Lebanon, from there. The people who (were) Assyrians (Syrians) transported them to Babylonia, and from Babylonia the Carians and Ionians transported them to Susa. And the *yakā*-timber was brought from Gandhara and also from Carmania. And the gold was brought from Sardes and Bactria, that was wrought here. And the precious stones which (were) lapis lazuli and also carnelian, which were wrought here, they were brought from Sogdiana. And the precious stones which (were) turquoise, those were brought from Chorasmia, which were wrought here. And the silver and ebony were brought from Egypt. And the decorative elements with which the Terrace was ornamented, those were brought from Ionia. And the ivory, which was wrought here, that was brought from Ethiopia and India and Arachosia. And the stone columns, which were worked here, from a town by the name of Apiratush, from over here, in Elam, they were brought.

(lines 44–52) The craftsmen who worked the stone, those (were) Ionians and Sardians. And the goldsmiths who worked that gold, those (were) Medes and Egyptians. And the men who wrought the wood, those (were) Sardians and Egyptians. And the men who wrought the baked brick, those (were) Babylonians. And the men who decorated the Terrace, those (were) Medes and Egyptians.

Corresponding to the north-eastern orientation of the palace, Darius built an Apadana north-east of the palace as seen on the plan of the Achaemenian buildings on the tell (fig. 6). The corners of that building were oriented north-east–south-west. It is only in this matter of orientation that the plan of the Apadana of Susa appears to differ from that of Persepolis, although not enough is preserved of the building on

<sup>1</sup> Vallat, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–8, lines 18–52.

the southwest side to show whether or not it had the same service rooms on that side as the one at Persepolis. In view of the apparently original square hall of the one at Susa, one might assume that it was the later of the two Apadana halls. However, a large assembly hall seems to have been essential for the political life of Persians and Medes<sup>1</sup> and there must have been some building which served that purpose before the Apadana was built, if the latter was indeed only erected after the Apadana of Persepolis.

Access to the elevated esplanade on which lay the palace and Apadana of Darius was through the gate built by him (fig. 7).<sup>2</sup> It has a hypostyle hall flanked by two rectangular rooms. Before the hall and facing toward the palace complex stood two figures of the king of which only one is preserved; they originally measured about 3 metres in height but the head and shoulders are missing. The foundations for a statue of the same size were found on both sides of the gate. The statue is discussed below together with the other sculptures of Darius.

The buildings on the mound of the Apadana were surrounded by a mudbrick wall. Within that wall there was only the palace of Darius and the Apadana. There were no town houses; nor have any so far been unearthed on the so-called Acropolis of Susa. Up to now only palatial structures of the Achaemenian period are known, as well as fortresses; no town has been discovered in connection with palatial Achaemenian edifices.<sup>3</sup>

Artaxerxes II (404–359/8 B.C.) built a palace on the other side of the river Kārūn (called Chaour in French). The reception hall of that palace complex resembled the Apadanas of Darius except for shorter porticoes on the north and south sides, where symmetrical rooms were built,<sup>4</sup> there

<sup>1</sup> An audience hall existed in every palatial complex built by an Achaemenid king. Cyrus: Palace S at Pasargadae; Cambyses: Apadana at Dasht-i Gohar (*Iranica Antiqua* xv (1980), p. 202); Darius I: Apadanas at Persepolis and Susa; Artaxerxes I: Hundred Column Hall (the biggest of all); Artaxerxes II: Apadana in the “Palais du Chaour” (see n. 4 below). A Median hall existed at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān (*Iran* xvi (1978) p. 2, fig. 1) and also at Godin Tepe (T. C. Young, Jr. and L. D. Levine, *Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress Report* (Royal Ontario Museum, 1974), p. 116, fig. 37). Ancestral to all were probably the columnar halls at Hasanlu; the reconstruction made at the University Museum, Philadelphia, has not yet been published by the excavator. In the meantime, see P. Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1980) p. 551, no. 991.

<sup>2</sup> J. Perrot and D. Ladiray, “La porte de Darius à Suse”, *CDAFI* IV (1974), pp. 43–56.

<sup>3</sup> The architectural remains south of the Persepolis Terrace in the plain are of palatial buildings (Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, fig. 14) and the same seems to be true of the most recent discoveries in the northeastern part of the Marvdasht Plain by Tilia, *Studies* ii, pp. 80–92. The report of the excavations by A. Tajvidi at the foot of the Persepolis Terrace, published in *Farhang-i Mi ‘māri-yi Irān* II–III (Spring, 1976), has not so far been available.

<sup>4</sup> R. Boucharat and A. Labrousse, “Le palais d’Artaxerxes II sur la rive droite du Chaour à Suse”, *CDAFI* x (1979), pp. 21ff.

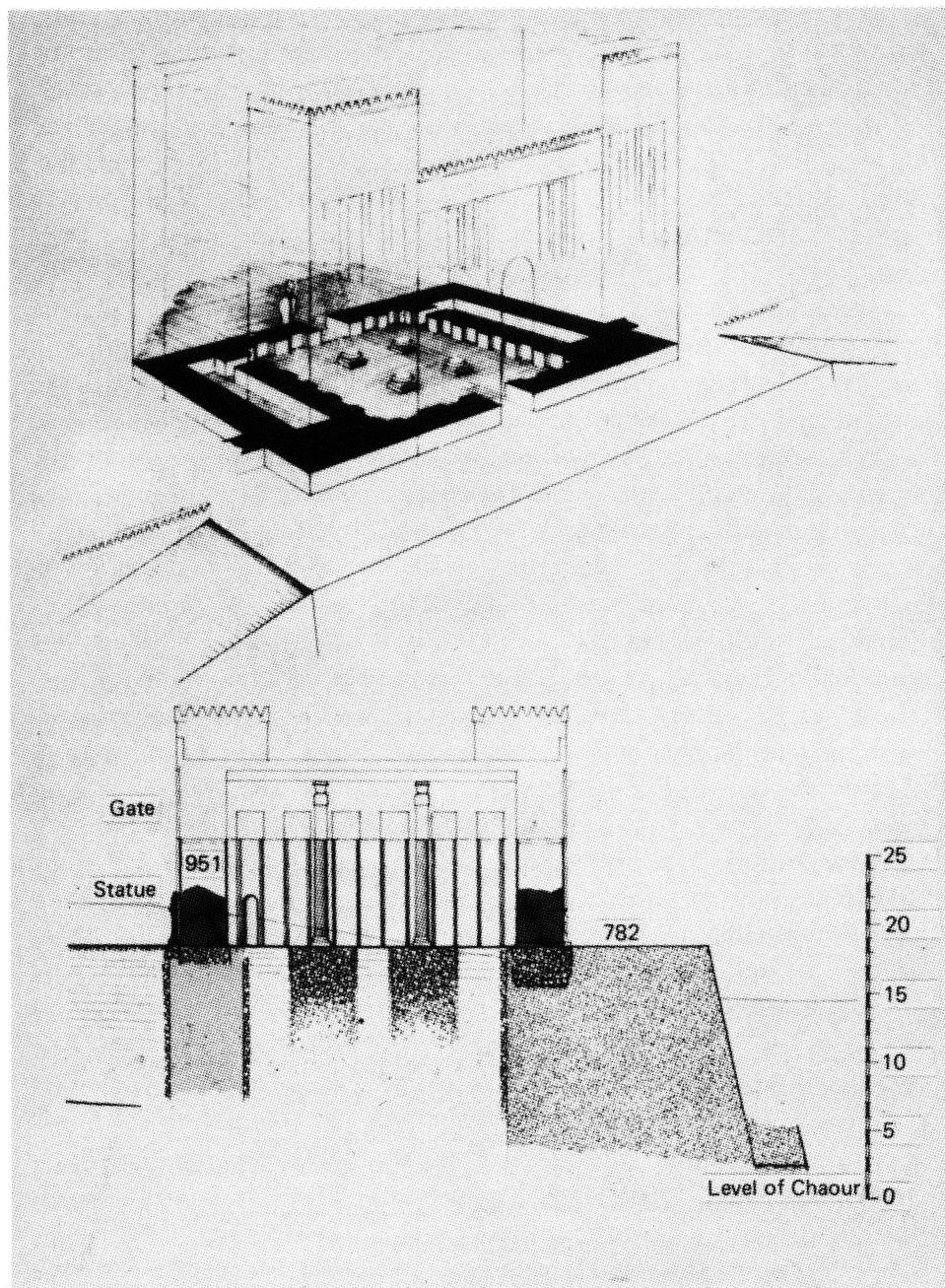


Fig. 7. The Gate of Darius at Susa, reconstructed by J. Perrot and D. Ladiray.

## SCULPTURE

is also a strange narrow corridor between the hypostyle hall and the western portico. Apart from these variations the building continued the basic type initiated by Darius I, thereby showing the extent to which the official architecture of the Achaemenids had been determined by him.

## SCULPTURE

In order to view the reliefs and sculptures in the round found at Persepolis and Susa in a stylistic sequence, the earlier works of Darius at Bisutūn and Pasargadae must be mentioned. Darius' relief at Bisutūn, commemorating his victory over Gaumata and the other "false kings", is generally considered to have been the earliest work of his reign, close to his victories in 521 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Its style has been compared to that of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (*ca.* 525 B.C.), where there is indeed a similar treatment of fallen figures and victors stepping on or over them, resulting in an impression of depth and plastic effect. It is well known that the content of the inscription of Bisutūn was copied and widely circulated by the chancellery of Darius. Less well known are the fragments found at Babylon.<sup>2</sup> If the relief was set up at the site at which the fragments were found, it was on the outer procession street leading to the Ishtar Gate. It has also been guardedly suggested that the theme might have been reproduced in painted glazed bricks in Susa, for one of the fragments of a glazed brick belongs either to such a scene or to that of a royal hero fighting a monster.<sup>3</sup> The latter is a theme frequently found at Persepolis and is a more likely one to have figured in glazed brick. At all events the small fragment shows that the representation of "Susian" guards was not the only theme involving human figures seen in the palace of Darius at Susa.

The glazed brick reliefs of "Susian" guards (pl. 18) show them with draped robes commonly known as the Persian dress. There is here a less plastic, more formal treatment, when compared with the representation at Bisutūn. The wide sleeve was made manageable – artistically and perhaps also in reality – by being partly laid in stacked folds obliquely placed with a zigzag edge in one direction. In the lower part of the garment a series of concave ridges curve up from either side to a bunch of vertical folds, symmetrically stacked in two directions. The

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 18 in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> U. Seidl, "Ein Relief Dareios' I in Babylon", *AMI* ix (1976), pp. 125–30.

<sup>3</sup> J. V. Canby, "A Note on some Susa Bricks", *AMI* xii (1979), pp. 315–20.

actual structure of the garment is still unclear, on account of the considerable artistic licence taken in the stylization of the drapery. Drapery as a means of expression – in the present case an expression of sumptuous ceremonial display – could not have been devised by a Near Eastern artist, for whom ornamentation alone was the means to distinguish a rich garment. However, artists familiar with the development of Greek drapery, might add to the ornamentation the impression of the fullness of the robe, as well as the natural appearance of figures. The suggestion that Ionians designed the glazed brick reliefs of guards at Susa<sup>1</sup> is therefore most likely to be correct. These glazed brick reliefs differ from the Babylonian by being made of frit instead of terracotta and by having the black outlines painted in a colour with a higher melting point than that of the other colours.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the precise outlines of the design remained unchanged in the firing of the Persian bricks. The beautiful patterned robes of the guards give some idea of the colourful pageant presented by an assembly of the Persian court.

It has been suggested that these glazed brick reliefs were made at Susa before the work at Persepolis had reached a stage at which carvers of reliefs were needed there. The same may have been true of the reliefs from Palace P at Pasargadae (pl. 17b), which share with the glazed brick reliefs the stress on the coloured border seen in the middle of the vertical folds. At Pasargadae that border was produced by metal appliqués, a practice documented in Greece, for example in the sculptures of the so-called temple of Aphaia at Aegina, where the drapery of the statue of the goddess Athena has been compared to that seen at Pasargadae in its natural-looking, weighty effect, and the arrangement of the long, stacked folds in front, and the curving ones on the sides.<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that different groups of eastern Greek artists were called by the Achaemenid kings Darius and Xerxes according as their services were needed,<sup>4</sup> accounts well for the different styles encountered in classic Achaemenian art relating to different stages in the development of Greek art.

The stage of Achaemenian style encountered in the reliefs of Palace P at Pasargadae may also have been that of the tomb façade of Darius. Darius chose the “awesome ambience” of the valley of Naqsh-i Rustam

<sup>1</sup> Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> E. Haerinck, “Le palais achéménide de Babylone”, *Iranica Antiqua* x (1973), p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> The comparison was made by G. M. A. Richter, “Greeks in Persia”, *AJA* l (1946), p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, p. 86.

(pl. 19) as the site for his rock chamber tomb, the inside of which consisted of a vestibule from which vaults of approximately rectangular plan extended into the rock. The actual burial sites are rectangular cavities cut into the floor of the vaults.<sup>1</sup>

Darius may have obtained the idea for such rock-cut tombs from Urartean prototypes.<sup>2</sup> New, however, was the shape of the façade: a giant cross (pl. 20), on the horizontal middle part of which was carved the façade of an Achaemenian palace, meant, perhaps, to be that of Darius.<sup>3</sup> In the upper field is the figure of the king on a stepped platform facing toward a fire altar, which is likewise raised on a plinth or platform, reminiscent of the plinths in the sacred precinct at Pasargadae. Between king and altar in the sky is a bearded, crowned figure in a winged disk, formerly identified as the Zoroastrian supreme god Ahuramazda, an interpretation to which the royal fortune *Farnah* is at present being urged as an alternative.<sup>4</sup> The fire was the personal fire of the king, which was kindled at his accession and kept burning until the end of the reign.<sup>5</sup> The king stands on a platform which ends in the head of a horned lion-dragon of unknown significance. The platform is raised by the peoples of the empire. The proportions and the spacing of the figure contribute to the effect of the king's image as majestic and unique.

Among the six persons at the side of the main panel, interpreted as the king's helpers,<sup>6</sup> is one, Gobryas (pl. 21), whose face has an extraordinarily individual cast of features executed with great delicacy. It is difficult not to suspect that a real portrait was intended, and achieved, doubtless with the permission of Darius.

The representation on the façade of the tomb of Darius was copied for the tomb of each of the Achaemenian kings buried at Naqsh-i Rustam and at Persepolis, although very slight changes reflect a minor stylistic development within the limits of a static iconography.

The tower erected by Darius on the plain, facing his tomb, is discussed in chapter 20, where the view is upheld that it, and the tower

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis III*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> P. Calmeyer, "Felsgräber, B. Urartäische Vorbilder", *AMI* VIII (1975), pp. 101–7.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis III*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol II, Farnah 'God Given Fortune' Symbolized", *AMI* XIII (1980), pp. 119–47.

<sup>5</sup> Shahbazi, *op. cit.* p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Shahbazi, *op. cit.* p. 125, thinks that the king's helpers reflect the six helpers of Ahuramazda, the Holy Immortals.

at Pasargadae, contained the king's royal paraphernalia. One may think here of the "robe of Cyrus", with which every Achaemenian king was supposed to have been invested at the inauguration of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

The stylistic phase of the art of Darius encountered in his palace at Persepolis seems more formal and more advanced – with few exceptions – than in the tomb relief. The reliefs were carved on the jambs of the great stone door frames of the palace. In the jambs of the main hall which lead to side rooms there appears a royal hero fighting a lion (pl. 22a), bull or griffin monster. The jambs leading onto the portico have the king walking with two attendants who hold flywhisk and sun-shade, the latter obviously needed for going outside. The jambs of the doors leading to the rooms in the back show the king with a flywhisk held over him (pl. 22b). The reliefs which were carved on jambs leading from one back room to another show attendants carrying oil jars and cloths which were obviously needed to wipe off the oil.<sup>2</sup> These last reliefs are clear indications of the residential character of the back of the building. The others tell visually of the King's usual exit and entrance to his private apartments, somewhat in the manner of Egyptian tomb paintings.<sup>3</sup> This concept may be combined with the undoubted fact that the king's image appears on the reliefs to indicate that it is *his* palace which the viewer is contemplating.<sup>4</sup>

The motif of the royal hero overpowering a monster or dangerous animal may be interpreted as a symbol of royalty inherited from Assyrian iconography. In the latter the king killing a lion was the traditional seal design from the time of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) until the time of Ashurbanipal (688–627 B.C.).<sup>5</sup> It should be noted, however, that the Assyrian king fights only lions standing erect on their hindlegs like human beings, whereas the royal Persian hero also engaged supernatural monsters.

The reliefs which show the king walking with his attendants are among the most elegant of the Terrace and were surely carved by a very competent sculptor. No attempt has so far been made to determine the work of a specific artist under Darius at Persepolis on the strength of

<sup>1</sup> Shahbazi, *op. cit.* p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 148–50.

<sup>3</sup> W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart, 1957), p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> P. Calmeyer, "Textual Sources for the Interpretation of Achaemenian Palace Decorations", *Iran* XVIII (1980), p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. Millard, "The Assyrian Royal Seal Type Again", *Iraq* XXVI (1965), pp. 12–16 and references cited there.

composition and execution of details. The controversy which rages about the Audience reliefs to be discussed in what follows, suffers from a lack of detailed observation, without which no reliable conclusions can be reached.

The two reliefs show an audience given by a Persian king. The better preserved one, now in the Archaeological Museum in Tehran, is illustrated here (pl. 23); it has the king facing right. The other, which has remained at Persepolis, is identical but has the scene reversed, with the king facing left (pl. 24a). Behind the enthroned king, though meant to stand beside him on the dais, is the crown prince. The chamberlain with a towel, and the weapon bearer, who are aligned on the ground behind the prince, were probably meant to stand on the enthroned king's left side. The person who is received in audience has long been called a Mede on the basis of his costume, characterized by tightfitting trousers and a hat with bulbous outline. Rather than aim at a purely ethnic characterization at this stage of the development of official dress in the Achaemenian empire,<sup>1</sup> the costume may indicate a military function. In the present scene the figure has been attractively identified by several scholars as the principal organizer of the procession of the peoples of the empire. The distinctive gesture of his hand was probably meant to prevent his breath from defiling the monarch.

The reliefs were excavated by Schmidt in a complex of the enlarged Treasury of Darius in a courtyard surrounded by four porticoes, in two of which the reliefs were set up against the back wall.<sup>2</sup> The complex had several special features, such as doorways with painted ornamentation and emplacement for two pairs of guardian figures, probably dogs and perhaps ibexes or bulls. In view of these distinctive elements Schmidt concluded that the reliefs were made for the Treasury, rejecting the alternative that they were made for the Apadana.

The latter assumption, however, turned out to be the correct one, borne out by remains of the canopy still in place on the Apadana stairway façades.<sup>3</sup> Questions immediately arose as to why these magnificent reliefs were removed to a location where they could no longer be generally seen. Even the dating of the reliefs in the time of

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Shahbazi, "Costume and Nationality, Remarks on the Use of the 'Median' and 'Persian' Costumes of the Achaemenid Period", in *Akten VII Kongresses, Munich, 1976*, p. 195. P. Calmeyer, "Vom Reisehut zur Kaiserkrone", *AM* x (1977), p. 175, doubts that the form of the 'Median' headgear was ever bulbous; however, hats of modern Bakhtiari tribesmen look much like the ancient headgear and are bulbous. I owe this information to Manijeh Khazaneh.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1, pp. 171–2, "Courtyard 17 and its porticoes".

<sup>3</sup> Tilia, *Studies* 1, pp. 183–204.

Darius began to be questioned, seeing that his son Xerxes claimed authorship of the Apadana stairway façades. Elsewhere he had mentioned his father as the original builder of the Apadana.<sup>1</sup> But it is not only the inscription which renders some scholars quite ready to accept the conclusion reached by H. von Gall that Xerxes, not Darius is the enthroned king in the Audience reliefs;<sup>2</sup> another argument advanced by von Gall is that the headdress of the enthroned king lacks the crenellations characteristic of the crown of Darius.

One might impugn the reliability of Xerxes' stairway inscriptions by suggesting that they were carved at the completion of the work, when Darius had been dead long enough for Xerxes to claim the decoration of the stairway façades for himself, even if they were initiated by Darius. The argument for the authorship by an artist of the time of Darius, however, must rest on considerations of style. For this purpose a monument datable in the late phase of the reign of Darius and showing related stylistic traits, has to be drawn into the discussion. Such a monument is the statue of Darius found at Susa.<sup>3</sup>

The statue was made of a dark greenish-grey metamorphic stone called grauwacke, of which quarries existed in the region of the Wadi Hamamat. They were worked throughout the periods of Egyptian sculpture, but their greenish-grey stone was particularly appreciated in the period of the Persian domination. There are ten short inscriptions at various points of the Wadi, carved between the years 496 to 492 B.C. by the chief of all workers of the king.<sup>4</sup> Although it is conceivable that a stone such as that from which the statue was made existed also in Iran in the region between Hamadān and Burūjird,<sup>5</sup> the Egyptian derivation, which agrees with the style of the figure, seems more probable.

The proudly upright figure, preserved to a height of 1.95 metres (pls 25, 26), was originally about 3 metres high and stands upon a socle whose height is .51 metre. Figure and socle are cut from one block of stone. The figure has the left foot placed forward, the right arm held at the side with the damaged hand clasping what was probably a handkerchief.<sup>6</sup> The left arm is bent and the better preserved hand holds

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> H. von Gall, "Die Kopfbedeckung des persischen Ornats bei den Achämeniden", *AMI* VII (1974), pp. 145-61.

<sup>3</sup> D. Stronach, "La statue de Darius le Grand découverte à Suse", *CDAFI* IV (1974), pp. 61-72.

<sup>4</sup> J. Trichet, "Étude pétrographique...", *CDAFI* IV (1974), pp. 57-9.

<sup>5</sup> Trichet, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> H. G. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues", *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* x (New York, 1975), pp. 9-21.

a flower, of which only the stem is preserved. The king wears the ceremonial long wide Persian robe, which covers the arms and is held by a belt in the waist. The width of the garment is reduced by the folds, which are stacked in two vertical sets at the sides. A series of increasingly deep rounded folds hangs down the middle; in the back these folds seem to rise up to the back pillar in such a way that it looks like overlapping them in a very naturalistic manner. The shape of the folds seems to differ from those seen in Ionian workmanship, thus excluding an Ionian sculptor despite the basically Greek derivation of such drapery.<sup>1</sup>

The king's shoes seem to be closely fitted to his feet and were worn without the laces seen on representations of all guards and other military figures. Those of the king were said to have shown traces of red paint,<sup>2</sup> indicating that in antiquity the statue was painted. This is also suggested by the cursory execution of the figures of winged bulls engraved on the sheath of the dagger stuck in the king's belt. These sketchy designs were surely intended to guide the painter in the spacing of his figures. The king's belt seems to have been made of a soft material and has plaquettes with Egyptian hieroglyphs. In one Darius is called "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, master of the performance of rites, Darius – may he live eternally".<sup>3</sup> The plaque on the other side calls him "master of the Two Lands".

On the left side of the figure a long inscription in classic hieroglyphic Egyptian runs down the pleats of the garment. In it Darius is called "the offspring of the god Atum", the name under which Re, the sun, was worshipped. The goddess Neith of Sais patron goddess of the preceding Saite Dynasty XXVI (the Achaemenids were Dynasty XXVII) is said to have given to Darius the bow with which to conquer all his enemies. The formulas employed were traditionally Egyptian, yet they were also expressive of Darius' own tenets as they appear in the text of his tomb façade.<sup>4</sup> Obviously he had been accepted by the Egyptian clergy<sup>5</sup> as the pharaoh, and much of the religious and political

<sup>1</sup> For comments on the influence of East-Ionian sculptural style on the statue, see H. Luschey, "Archäologische Bemerkungen zu der Darius-Statue von Susa", in *Akten VII Kongresses, München, 1976*, pp. 207–17, especially p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Roaf, "Subject Peoples", p. 74, note 8, citing an observation by G. Tilia.

<sup>3</sup> J. Yoyotte, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, Darius et l'Egypte", *Journal Asiatique CCLX* (1972), pp. 253–66 for this and all other references to the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, Conn., 1953), pp. 138–40.

<sup>5</sup> This is reflected in the statements of Diodorus Siculus I. 95.5, where it is said that Darius associated with the Egyptian priests and took part with them in the study of theology.

thought expressed in his Persian inscriptions and iconography should be traced to Egyptian influence.

The content of the inscription agrees with the representations on the socle of the statue. Two identical configurations of the “Union of the Two Lands” appear on the front and on the back of the socle. Two fecundity figures<sup>1</sup> have on their head the Lily of upper Egypt or the Papyrus of Lower Egypt and tie the stems of these plants around the hieroglyph which means “to unite”. On the longitudinal sides of the socle is a representation of the peoples of the realm, characterized by their costume and sometimes by their ethnic type, arranged in two rows, one on each side. Every figure kneels above a fortress cartouche, that is an oval form with crenelations representing the plan of a fortress, which contains the name of the country represented by the figure. These figures will be mentioned again in connection with the delegations of the peoples on the Apadana reliefs.

The posture of the kneeling figures with raised arms, palms turned up and held flat as if supporting the base on which the king stands, has been rightly associated with the multiple figures of king Tarhaqa of (the Kushite) Dynasty XXV (*c.* 690–640 B.C.) holding up the star-studded emblem of the heavens on the side of an altar in a temple at Gebel Barkal.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it is certainly correct to associate the idea of the peoples supporting the kin with the representations of the nations of the realm holding up the king’s *dais* on his funerary façade.<sup>3</sup> It should be mentioned, however, that the Elamite gesture of prayer and supplication was also one of both hands extended with upturned palms.<sup>4</sup> This could have made the gesture doubly meaningful to Persian viewers.

The workmanship of the socle is typically Egyptian in being carved in sunk relief on a stone, which was probably covered with white plaster or a thin coat of whitewash before being painted in preparation for the carving of the relief.<sup>5</sup>

There must have been at least three examples of this statue of Darius, the original in the temple of Atum at Heliopolis, where it was set up according to the text of the inscription on the statue,<sup>6</sup> and the two

<sup>1</sup> The term used for these figures by Roaf in “Subject Peoples” is accepted here.

<sup>2</sup> Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 77 and note 19.

<sup>3</sup> Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 78 where this is implied though not expressly stated.

<sup>4</sup> For examples see *Iranica Antiqua* xv (1980), pls. IV: 2, V: 7.

<sup>5</sup> Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Yoyotte, “Les inscriptions”, p. 257.

statues at the gate in Susa. This indicates that Egyptian influence on the style of Darius was probably considerable, also in works in which it is not as obvious as in the statue. Here we may return to the Audience reliefs to point out the relationship with the statue, which consists in evidence for Egyptian influence as well as in the monumental size of the king's figure. Thus, the flowers held by king and crown prince (pl. 24b) have a typically Egyptian shape in the blossom between two buds. Furthermore, the manner in which the stems of the flowers hang down is characteristic only of Egyptian representations of flowers.<sup>1</sup> Another feature derived from Egyptian art is the way in which the line marking the upper eyelid extends down below the lower lid in the faces of the persons on the Audience reliefs (pl. 24c). This feature, never found in Babylonian or Assyrian art and not seen in Greek art before the works of the second half of the 5th century B.C.<sup>2</sup> is a characteristic feature of Egyptian art from Dynasty XXV to the Ptolemaic period.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly there is a similarity in the size of the figure of the king in the Audience reliefs and in the statue from Susa. If the seated figure of the king in the reliefs were standing it would be about 3 metres high, like the statue. Such measurements may have originated from the Greek artists at the court of Darius in view of the greater size of the gods in relation to humans seen in some votive reliefs.<sup>4</sup> Figures which are just above human size are more immediately impressive than gigantic figures to which man no longer has any relation.

It seems then that at Persepolis and in Egypt a style had developed in the last decade of the reign of Darius in which Greek and Egyptian elements were harmoniously combined. For the statue found at Susa this dating is almost certain,<sup>5</sup> for the Audience reliefs it can at least be said to be very likely. To evaluate the quality of the artist responsible for the composition of the Audience reliefs, one might point to such subtleties as the foil created for the king by the plain top of the tall-backed

<sup>1</sup> A lotus blossom with two buds and stiffly hanging stems is seen in a relief of Dynasty XXVI (c. 650–55 B.C.) in the Louvre; see C. Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten* (Berlin, 1975) (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15), pl. 314.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to Evelyn B. Harrison.

<sup>3</sup> In Porada, "Some Thoughts on the Audience Reliefs of Persepolis", *Studies...P. H. von Blanckenbagen* (New York, 1979), p. 40, n. 25, I cited Egyptian paintings for this feature. However, it is much more clearly seen in sculptures in the round and reliefs from Dynasty XXV to the Ptolemaic period. R. S. Bianchi in a personal communication calls it a constant in Egyptian art of the Late Period; see B. V. Bothmer *et al.*, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (The Brooklyn Museum, 1960), pls. 38, 60, 77, 114, 239, 329.

<sup>4</sup> Scheifold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn*, pl. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Yoyotte, "Les inscriptions", p. 266.

chair (pl. 24a), where any striking decoration would have detracted from the king's bearded head. At the same time that chair is sumptuous below, where it creates areas of interest leading up to the figure of the ruler. Furthermore, the empty space above the two censers, separating the king from the man received in audience dramatizes the distance between the two figures. Yet the man has the same strong features as the king and as all other persons in the relief. The reason is that differentiation of personal traits, such as are found in later Greek and Roman art, almost never occur in the art of the ancient Near East. Instead, in a style so definitely centred on a king such as Darius at Persepolis, or earlier Akhenaten at Amarna, or Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud,<sup>1</sup> it seems likely that the distinctive facial characteristics borne by all the other persons in the reliefs were those of the king. It may therefore be the stylized, somewhat withdrawn portrait of Darius at Persepolis which recurs in every sculpture made during, and perhaps even after his time.

Originally the Audience reliefs were flanked on each side by triangular panels, each showing a rearing bull attacked by a lion, a motif found in corresponding positions on all major stairways on the Terrace (pl. 27). The contest between lion and bull is a theme which goes back to the late 4th millennium B.C. in the art of Mesopotamia and Iran and has been variously interpreted. In the Achaemenian period the lion probably symbolized royal power against which even a strong opponent like a bull could not defend himself.<sup>2</sup>

The Audience reliefs were designed to form the centre of the composition of three tiers of reliefs on either side of each of the Apadana stairway façades. On one side was the array of the royal retinue: chariots, guards and nobles; on the other side were the twenty-three delegations of the nations of the empire bringing their gifts to the great king (pl. 28). The decorations on the northern and eastern stairway were intended to be mirror images of each other but there are slight differences in some of the details and in the style of the execution. The northern stairway façade was the earlier one, exposed through the ages to the elements and occasional vandalism. The eastern stairway was only uncovered by Herzfeld in 1932. It is therefore relatively well preserved and those detailed studies which have been undertaken have been

<sup>1</sup> C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (London, 1973), p. 199, no. 134 shows even a black man sharing the characteristics of Akhenaten. For comment on Ashurnasirpal, see E. Porada, *The Great King... King of Assyria* (Metropolitan Museum New York, 1945), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> E. Porada, "An Assyrian Bronze Disc", *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* XLVIII (1950), pp. 2-8.

concentrated on that stairway. The result of one recent study<sup>1</sup> is the recognition that the Persian archers, of which there are 200 on the stairways (pl. 29), were carved by small teams of artisans working under a master craftsman. Apparently these artisans specialized in specific parts of a figure such as face or quiver, which they would carve on a series of archers. This explains part of the apparent uniformity of the reliefs, especially as one of the teams identified accounts for one fifth of all the sculpted figures.<sup>2</sup>

Greater demands must have been made on the artisans who worked on the side portraying the various delegations. Each of these groups was separated from the next by a formal, Egyptianizing tree design, which appears directly below the one above. In each delegation the first man is led alternately by a "Persian" or a "Mede", but the number of persons in each group differed, especially if there was present one of the fine animals, horse, bull, or camel. Yet no group ever appears crowded or awkward; the spacing must have been worked out carefully on "papyrus" before being transferred to the wall. The horizontal registers together with the trees formed a grid into which the delegations were fitted. There is no precedent in the Near East for such planning of a horizontal *and* vertical composition. On the contrary, in the reconstructed wall painting of the throne room of Sargon at Khorsabad the designs in one horizontal register are not related to those in the registers above or below.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that the outlines of each delegation were painted in some detail before the carving began, resulting in the fine reliefs. It is even conceivable that the painting was more than a guide for the sculptors, being used to give an impression of the finished decoration long before the actual sculpture was done. This would explain the frequency of unfinished parts,<sup>4</sup> which might have been overlooked as long as they were covered with paint, but are very striking today in contrast with the finished parts.

There have been numerous discussions of the Apadana reliefs,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Roaf, "A Mathematical Analysis of the Styles of the Persepolis Reliefs", in M. Greenhalgh and V. Megaw (eds), *Art in Society* (London, 1978), pp. 133–45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> G. Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad II* (Chicago, 1938) (Oriental Institute Publications 40), pl. 89.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Tilia, "Unfinished parts of the Architecture and Sculpture", *East and West* xviii (1968), pp. 90–4, figs. 133–5, 138–42; see also parts of the Audience relief at Persepolis, figs. 146–8.

<sup>5</sup> The basic material concerning the Apadana reliefs consists of the photographs and identifications provided by Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 82–90 and pls. 27–49 and 61 and *Persepolis III*, "The Tribute Delegations of the Apadana", pp. 145–58 and pls. 101–105. A. An excellent photographic record of the single figures in the delegations was given by G. Walser, *Die*

particularly concerning the identification of some of the delegations whose costumes and gifts were not distinctive enough to define the nationality of the bearers. Some of the doubtful cases have been clarified by the representation of the nations of the empire who kneel above the name of their country written in hieroglyphs on the socle of the statue of Darius (pl. 26b).<sup>1</sup> Although the portrayals on the socle are very abbreviated, it is significant that they are independent of the tradition established by the tomb façade of Darius and copied on the Tripylon and the Hundred Column Hall, where similar figures support the king's throne,<sup>2</sup> and independent also of the representation of delegations on the stairway reliefs of the Apadana and of those of Artaxerxes I and III copied from them.<sup>3</sup>

In Near Eastern art in general, differentiation among peoples was mostly made on the basis of dress. Here the trousers,<sup>4</sup> which appeared for the first time in the Persian reliefs, were an important feature documenting the inclusion of new peoples in the population of the Persian empire in the north-west, the north and the north-east. The Medes wore tight trousers, shoes, a long coat with false sleeves, called *κάνδυς*,<sup>5</sup> which was laid over the shoulders like a cloak, and a bulbous hat with a short tail-like appendage. Many other peoples in the reliefs wore trousers, some tight, like the Armenians and Cappadocians,<sup>6</sup> some *Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* (Teheraner Forschungen 2, Berlin, 1966). M. C. Root, *King and Kingship*, "Catalogue entry VIII", pp. 86–95 and "The Tribute Procession", pp. 227–84, gives a very good documentation and discussion of the concepts of tribute and prefigurations for the Apadana procession. O. W. Muscarella reviewed Schmidt, *Persepolis III* in *AJA* LXXV (1971), pp. 443–4 and Walser, *Völkerschaften* in *JNES* XXVIII (1969), pp. 280–5, with pertinent remarks concerning the identification of the delegations.

<sup>1</sup> Roaf, "Subject Peoples", pp. 73–160.

<sup>2</sup> The supporters of the king's dais on the tomb reliefs are discussed by Schmidt, *Persepolis III*, pp. 108–118, figs. 39–52; in the Tripylon reliefs Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 117–20, pls. 80–1; in the Hundred Column Hall, *Persepolis I*, pp. 134–6, pls. 108–13.

<sup>3</sup> The representations from the stairway façade of Artaxerxes I were published by Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 280–2, pls. 202 B–205, and *Persepolis III*, p. 161 (Palace H) and pl. 105 C, and by Tilia, *Studies I*, pp. 2–316, figs. 44–164. See also Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 88, n. 55 for the identification of the delegations. For the stairway façade of Artaxerxes III on the west side of the Palace of Darius I, see Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 228–9, pls. 153–6 and *Persepolis III*, pp. 162–3; also comments by Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. Calmeyer, "Hose, archäologisch" in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie IV* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 472–6. Calmeyer, "Vom Reisehut zur Kaiserkrone", p. 172, n. 24, suggested that trousers were used in Fars at an earlier date, which is very likely; the representation of a Mede on a cylinder seal from Susa which he cites to support his argument, however, looks like a later addition on an earlier cylinder; see P. Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne* (Paris, 1972) (MDAI 43), no. 2181; I. Gershevitch, "Alloglottoigraphy of Old Persian", *TPS* 1979, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> See E. R. Knauer, "Toward a history of the sleeved coat", *Expedition* XXI (1978), p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis III*, pp. 146–7 identified the Apadana delegations I as Median, III as Armenian, IX as Cappadocian and XVI as possibly Sagartian (illustrations: *Persepolis I*, pls. 27, 29, 35, 42). Roaf, "Subject Peoples", p. 102 stated, however, that these identifications are not certain because the garments are all so closely comparable.

loose like the Arians, Bactrians, Arachosians, and Drangianians.<sup>1</sup> The Scythian peoples, as well as the Sogdians, Chorasmians and Skudrians,<sup>2</sup> all wore trousers, they had a distinctive kind of headdress with earflaps fastened under the chin,<sup>3</sup> they also wore a long-sleeved, belted jacket.

The Persians seem to have adopted their voluminous long, loose and wide-sleeved garment from the Elamites, at least for the ceremonial occasions at which they are portrayed in the reliefs. The main characteristic of this garment seems to have been the rounded horizontal folds which are seen in the representation of the Persian and the Elamite on the socle,<sup>4</sup> as well as on a silver figurine from the Oxus Treasure and on a female figurine from Kish.<sup>5</sup> The combination of such rounded folds and the vertical ones, as seen on the statue of Darius as well as in the reliefs, is inexplicable on present evidence.

There is documentary evidence that Cambyses wore the Elamite dress.<sup>6</sup> However, the Elamite dress worn by king Ummaladas in the scene of surrender to Ashurbanipal, c. 640 B.C., was a fringed garment with no evidence of wide sleeves.<sup>7</sup> This Elamite dress then differs greatly from the one worn by the Persians a century later. Such a discrepancy cannot be due entirely to a different stylistic conception of the garment. We may assume therefore that a change in the ceremonial garment occurred, which may indicate a change in the population, irrespective of the name Elamite all along applying to the same region and its inhabitants.

The ceremonial headgear of the Persians was cylindrical and fluted,

<sup>1</sup> The representation of the Arian on the socle of the statue of Darius provides additional evidence for Schmidt's original identification of Delegation IV with that nation. But the Arachosians on the socle are bare-headed and do not have head and chin heavily wrapped as does Delegation VII (Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pl. 33), which Roaf calls Drangianians. That headcloth appears to have been white linen as suggested by the paintings in the Palais du Chaour of Artaxerxes II; *CDAFI* II (1972), p. 134, fig. 42.3.

<sup>2</sup> The pointed hat Scythians, called Saka Tigraxauda, are seen in Delegation XI, the Sogdians in Delegation XVII and the Skudrians in Delegation XIX, while the Chorasmian is only shown as one of the daïs supporters (no. 8, fig. 43); Scythians and Sogdians wear a scabbard slide, but none of the other delegations, whereas among the daïs-supporters it is also worn by Medes (no. 2), Parthians (no. 4), Bactrians (no. 6), Arians (no. 5), Chorasmians (no. 8), Arachosians and Drangianians (nos 9, 10?). The scabbard slide is typical of Central Asian peoples together with a crenelated mane for horses, which is not present at Persepolis; see O. Maenchen-Helfen, "Crenelated Mane and Scabbard-Slide", *Central Asiatic Journal* III (1957-8), pp. 85-138.

<sup>3</sup> Roaf's useful terminology for the dress of the peoples of the Persian empire in "Subject Peoples", p. 91 has been taken over here.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 94, 104.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. Dalton, "The Treasure of the Oxus (London, 1905), pl. II. 1; W. Culican, "Syro-Achaemenian Ampullae", *Iranica Antiqua* XI (1975), pl. XIX.

<sup>6</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, "A New Cambyses Incident", *SPÄ* xv (1974), pp. 3500-1.

<sup>7</sup> "The Surrender of Ummaladas" in R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal* (British Museum, 1976), pl. xxxv, upper left.

probably open on top. It may have been derived from an original feather crown.<sup>1</sup> The everyday garment of the Persians, however, must have consisted in an attire resembling that of the Medes, if it was not identical, as has been suggested.<sup>2</sup>

The Indic people in Delegation XVIII wear only a kilt, corresponding probably to the one-piece garment worn on the lower body today. Only the leader has an added draped garment, which leaves one arm and shoulder uncovered.<sup>3</sup> The Gandharans, the Sattagydians and the representative of Maka also wear the kilt, often with the addition of a cloak.<sup>4</sup>

The large group of peoples dwelling in the countries of the "Fertile Crescent", Babylonians, Assyrians, Ionians, Arabians, Carians, are shown with knee- or ankle-length gowns, usually worn with a cloak.<sup>5</sup> They can be differentiated somewhat by their headgear or their hairstyle. Most distinctive are the bell-shaped cap with pendent long tip of the Babylonians and the tall turban of the Lydians (pl. 30a). The similarly dressed Egyptians, Libyans and Nubians can be distinguished by their ethnic types.<sup>6</sup>

The execution of the reliefs on the eastern stairway of the Apadana attained the greatest refinement and elegance achieved in Achaemenian art. The best example among the delegations is the often reproduced Lydian one (pl. 30a), with two magnificently modelled horses and precious objects brought by that delegation. The bracelets with griffin protomes and the vases with handles in the form of winged bulls correspond to extant metal objects,<sup>7</sup> probably produced in that country, which housed some of the ablest craftsmen of the Persian satrapies.

The guards and nobles of the royal court were given an equally elegant appearance (pl. 30b). Their proportions made them seem slender and tall; the slightly outcurving contour of the Persian headgear seems to render the natural widening toward the top, subtly suggesting its

<sup>1</sup> R. D. Barnett, "Assyria and Iran, the Earliest Representations of Persians", *SPÄ* xiv (1967), pp. 2997–3007.

<sup>2</sup> Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 98 and Shahbazi, "Costume and Nationality".

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pl. 44.

<sup>4</sup> The Gandharans are seen in Delegation XIV, Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pl. 40; the Sattagyidian is no. 11 on fig. 45 in Schmidt, *Persepolis* III; the man from Maka is no. 29 on fig. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, Delegation V (pl. 31), VI (pl. 32, called Syrians by Schmidt), VIII (pl. 34, called Cilicians by Schmidt); for the Arabians Roaf suggests Delegation XX (pl. 46); the Carian is only seen among the dais-supporters, holding the foot of the dais, *Persepolis* III, no. 30, fig. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, Delegation X (pl. 36), XXII (pl. 48), XXI (pl. 49, called Ethiopians by Schmidt, probably Nubians by Roaf).

<sup>7</sup> P. Amandry, "Toreutique achéménide", *Antike Kunst* II (1959), pl. 23, 1, 4.

actual appearance, not found in the earlier representations on the northern stairway.<sup>1</sup> The variation of the pose of the nobles on both stairways seems to express animated conversation, punctuated by gestures of intimate friendship, such as holding hands, tapping someone on the shoulder or turning around to the next person. The relative informality of these little figures is in contrast to the monumental Audience scenes, in which the figures are almost three times the size of the register of the nobles. Here there is nothing of this lightness or immediacy of expression. Instead, the figures appear as in a solemn pantomime before the Great King.

It is conceivable that the unfinished state of the crown on the Audience relief in Persepolis<sup>2</sup> was due to a change effected in the shape of the crown by the artists of Xerxes in order to ensure for him the credit of having built the stairway façades of the Apadana. The rough surface would conveniently have held the gypsum base for any painting that might have been done. Assuming that Xerxes was successful in being regarded as the king enthroned, receiving the report of the delegations accompanied by Darius, his crown prince, then Artaxerxes I might indeed have wished to remove the images of his murdered father and brother, as has been suggested.<sup>3</sup>

Artaxerxes I's own works can be judged from the reliefs of the Hundred Column Hall, a building begun by the workmen of Xerxes, but completed by those of Artaxerxes I. The hall, larger than that of the Apadana, had two pairs of doorways in the jambs of which the king enthroned appears in the uppermost of six registers (pl. 31). In the northern doorways, which were the entrances from a probably public area, the king receives in audience a man in "Median" costume. In the southern doorways, the king is alone, attended only by a chamberlain with a flywhisk. In the northern doorways five rows of guards are carved below the figure of the king; in the southern doorways the dais on which his throne is placed is supported by representatives of fourteen nations of the empire on one side and fourteen more on the other, so that twenty-eight representatives of the nations are shown. This is a departure from earlier conventions according to which it was the mirror image of a figure or scene which was portrayed on the opposite jamb, or on the twin stairway façade or other twin surface. Another new

<sup>1</sup> For this observation, see Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> The relief in Tehran cannot be judged because the crown is damaged and also covered by a thick layer of wax.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Shahbazi, "The Persepolis 'Treasury Reliefs' once more", *AMI* ix (1976), p. 155.

feature is the exaggerated size of the king in relation to all other figures, which deprives the Audience scene, for example, of its credibility.

In the uniquely large size of the king's figure the reliefs in the Hundred Column Hall differ from those of the Tripylon, called Council Hall by Schmidt, which has reliefs of king and crown prince in the large top register and the representatives of the nations as supporters of the dais in three registers below. On the basis of the similarity in the motif of enthroned king and crown prince with that of the Audience reliefs, the Tripylon was assigned by Schmidt to the time of Darius. Details of representation, however, such as the shape of the king's crown, or the flywhisk and the sunshade, all of which can be paralleled by the reliefs of Artaxerxes I, have led to the dating of the Tripylon reliefs in the time of that king.<sup>1</sup> However, the building itself, which served as the main link of communication between the public buildings in the north and the southern part of the site in which the residential palaces were located, had an important function. Moreover, an architectural connection exists between the platform of the Apadana and that of the Tripylon.<sup>2</sup> On this basis one may assume that a building was put up at the time of the Apadana for the same purpose as the Tripylon was meant to fulfil, although there may have been some rebuilding and additions between the time of Darius and that of Artaxerxes I.<sup>3</sup> The reliefs on the main stairway, which show the most relaxed, cheerful crowd of nobles (pl. 32), fit well indeed into the style of Artaxerxes I, as do the figures on the stairway parapets, some of which are very small, others very large (p. 33).

Extensive reliefs made for Artaxerxes I were found by the Tiliás on a site south of the palace of Darius, called Palace H by Schmidt. This was a palace begun by Xerxes, for which Artaxerxes had stairway façades decorated with extensive reliefs, in which the delegations seen on the Apadana were extended to comprise more figures. Here too one side of the stairway was not a mirror image of the other, though both

<sup>1</sup> P. Calmeyer, "Synarchie", *AMI* ix (1976), pp. 71–5; he considers the Tripylon reliefs older than those of the Hundred Column Hall, within the reign of Artaxerxes I; *ibid.*, p. 76. Without knowing how these reliefs were made, i.e. whether some of them were merely painted in the time of Darius and later carved, one cannot argue against the evidence of the details adduced for the date in the reign of Artaxerxes I.

<sup>2</sup> This is visible in the plan of the Tripylon, called Council Hall by Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1, p. 108, text p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> L. Trümpelmann, "Tore von Persepolis", *AMI* vii (1974), p. 169, assumes a rebuilding of the area of the east gate of the Tripylon, and Calmeyer, "Synarchie", p. 72, takes an earlier plan for the Tripylon for granted on the basis of the staircase in the south-east, for which there does not seem to be any reason.

sides were symmetrically balanced.<sup>1</sup> One notes a greater variation in the composition and in the postures of individual figures, which are often livelier than on the Apadana reliefs, as well as stockier proportions, greater numbers, and tighter spacing of figures. In this respect the artistic judgement seems less perfect, the result less classic than before.

The best evidence for painting of the reliefs at Persepolis comes from the time of Artaxerxes I, from the Hundred Column Hall.<sup>2</sup> The colours on the crowned figure in the winged disk above the enthroned king on the dais borne by the nations on the western jamb of the eastern doorway in the southern wall of the hall, have been reconstructed as bright green, red, yellow, and blue for the beard and hair of the figure. This is an improvement in freshness of colours on an earlier reconstruction.<sup>3</sup> The observation that the dots in the wings of this painting occur in Egyptian wing designs<sup>4</sup> supports the view that the painting was done by Egyptians.

Recent work at Susa has uncovered paintings of the time of Artaxerxes II and potsherds from vessels used to hold paint have been found in the palace of that king and also in the Apadana on the Acropolis of Susa,<sup>5</sup> corresponding to the evidence mentioned above for painting of the reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis.

Two fragmentary reliefs from the palace of Artaxerxes II show a further development away from the carefully proportioned and precisely executed forms of classic Achaemenian art.<sup>6</sup> That art had been executed by Ionians, Sardians, Egyptians, and all the other peoples whom Darius had proudly cited as working for him; their labours had succeeded magnificently in expressing the concepts of their Persian masters.

<sup>1</sup> Tilia, *Studies* I, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Tilia, *Studies* II, "Colour in Persepolis", pp. 31ff; see especially the reconstruction of the painting on pl. B.

<sup>3</sup> Judith Lerner, "A Painted Relief from Persepolis", *Archaeology* xxvi (1973), pp. 118–22.

<sup>4</sup> Tilia points to winged symbols in Egyptian cloisonné jewelry, which have dots or circles of a different colour at the tips of the wings. One can add that there are also painted examples, such as the soul in the form of a bird from the tomb of Arinefer at Thebes; see G. Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1959), p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Bouchartat and Labrousse, "Le palais d'Artaxerxes II", pp. 67–8.

<sup>6</sup> An offering-bearer in *Syria* XLVIII (1971), pl. 1. d; also in *CDAFI* II (1972), p. 166, pl. XXXIV. 4; a male head was published in *CDAFI* x (1979), p. 134, pl. IXa.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The abbreviations used in the bibliographies and footnotes are listed below.

- AA* *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)
- AAA* *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool)
- AAntASH* *Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)
- AArchASH* *Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)
- ABSA* *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- Acta Iranica* *Acta Iranica* (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran-Liège-Leiden)
- Aegyptus* *Aegyptus* 'Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia' (Milan)
- AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin)
- AHM* I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959)
- AION* *Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)
- Air.Wb.* C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904; 2nd ed. Berlin, 1961)
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology* (Baltimore)
- AJAH* *American Journal of Ancient History* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- AJSLL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* (Chicago)
- AK* *Arkeologiya* (Kiev)
- AMI* *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (old series 9 vols 1929–38; new series 1968–) (Berlin)
- Anatolia* *Anatolia/Anadolu* (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)
- Ancient Egypt* *Ancient Egypt (and the East)* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt) (London, 1914–35)
- ANET* J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1969)
- AnOr* *Analecta Orientalia* (Rome)
- ANSMN* *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* (New York)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANSNNM	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)
ANSNS	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)
<i>Anthropos</i>	<i>Anthropos</i> (International review of Ethnology and Linguistics) (Fribourg, Switzerland)
<i>Antike Kunst</i>	Halbjahresschrift herausgegeben von der Vereinigung der Freunde Antiker Kunst (Basle)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity</i> (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)
<i>AOAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil.-Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil.-Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>Archaeology</i>	<i>Archaeology</i> (official publication of the Archaeological Institute of America) (New York)
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i> (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)
<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annals du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo)
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Arkheologicheskii Sbornik, Hermitage</i> (Leningrad)
<i>Athenaeum</i>	<i>Athenaeum</i> (Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell' Antichità; new series 1923-) (Pavia)
<i>AU</i>	<i>Arkheologiya Ukrainskoy RSR</i> , 2 vols (Kiev, 1971)
<i>BA</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie</i> (Leipzig)
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (Baltimore, Maryland)
<i>Berytus</i>	<i>Berytus</i> (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> (Cairo)
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> (Leiden)
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i> (London)
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i> (University of London)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 12 vols; 1st edition Cambridge, 1924-39. Revised edition 1970-
<i>CDAFI</i>	<i>Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran</i> (Paris)

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<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i>
<i>Chiron</i>	<i>Chiron</i> (Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Munich)
<i>CIr</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i> (London)
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> (Paris)
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago)
<i>CQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i> (new series) (Oxford)
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres</i> (Paris)
<i>Dacia</i>	<i>Dacia</i> (Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne) (old series 1924–47; new series 1957–) (Bucharest)
<i>DB</i>	<i>The Behistun Inscription of Darius I</i>
<i>East and West</i>	<i>East and West</i> (Quarterly published by the Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente) (Rome)
<i>Ex Oriente Lux</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschop.</i> <i>Ex Oriente Lux</i> (Leiden)
<i>Expedition</i>	<i>Expedition</i> (The University Museum Magazine of Archaeology/Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania) (Philadelphia)
<i>GJ</i>	<i>The Geographical Journal</i> (London)
<i>Greece and Rome</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i> (published for the Classical Association) (Oxford)
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes</i> (Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie) (Wiesbaden)
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia</i> (Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens) (Princeton, N.J.)
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia</i> (Journal of Ancient History) (Wiesbaden)
<i>HO</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> , ed. B. Supuler (Leiden-Cologne)
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> (Cambridge, Mass.)
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> (Cincinnati)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> (Cambridge, Mass.)
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i> (Leiden)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1873–)
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Series</i> (Jerusalem)
<i>Iran</i>	<i>Iran</i> (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London–Tehran)
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Iraq</i> (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)

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- JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)  
*JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York)  
*JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston)  
*JCOI* *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 29 vols  
 (Bombay, 1922–35)  
*JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)  
*JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)  
*JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London)  
*JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)  
*JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies* (Manchester)  
*Klio* *Klio* (Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte) (Berlin)  
*KSIAK* *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii* (Kiev)  
*KSIAM* *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii* (Moscow)  
*KSIIMK* *Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevyykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury AN SSR* (Moscow)  
*Kuml* *Kuml* (Aarbog for Jysk Arkaeologisk Selskab) (Aarhus)  
*KZ* *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, begründet von Albert Kuhn (Göttingen)  
*LCL* Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.–London)  
*Levant* *Levant* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem) (London)  
*MASP* *Materialy po Arkheologii Severnovo Prichernomoria* (Odessa)  
*MDAFA* Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (Paris)  
*MDAI* Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran (Paris)  
*MDOG* *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin)  
*MDP* *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (Paris)  
*MIA* *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow–Leningrad)  
*MMAB* *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (old series 1905–42; new series 1942–) (New York)  
*Le Muséon* *Le Muséon* (Revue d'Études Orientales) (Louvain–Paris)  
*NC* *Numismatic Chronicle* (London)  
*NTS* *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvitenskap: Norwegien Journal of Linguistics* (Oslo)  
*Oriens* *Oriens* (journal of the International Society for Oriental Research) (Leiden)

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Orientalia	Orientalia (a quarterly published by the Faculty of Ancient Oriental Studies, Pontifical Biblical Institute) new series (Rome)
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung (Berlin–Leipzig)
Paléorient	Paléorient (pluridisciplinary review of prehistory and protohistory of southwestern Asia) (Paris)
Pauly	Pauly, A. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1894–)
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy (London)
Persica	Persica (annuaire de la Société Néerlandais-Iranienne) (Leiden)
PFT	R. T. Hallock, <i>Persepolis Fortification Tablets</i> (Chicago, 1969)
Philologus	Philologus (Zeitschrift für das classische Alterthum) (Göttingen–Leipzig–Berlin)
Phoenix	Phoenix (The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada) (Toronto)
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London)
PTT	G. G. Cameron, <i>The Persepolis Treasury Tablets</i> (Chicago, 1948)
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris)
RAA	Revue des arts asiatiques (Paris)
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (Paris)
RN	Revue Numismatique (Paris)
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Rome)
RT	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
SA	Sovetskaya Arkheologiya (Moscow)
SBE	Sacred Books of the East (Oxford)
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford)
SCO	Studi classici e orientali (Pisa)
Semitica	Semitica (cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'études sémitiques) (Paris)
SPA	A Survey of Persian Art, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols (Text pp. 1–2817) (Oxford–London–New York, 1938–9); latest reprint 13 vols (Ashiya, Japan, 1981); vol. XIV <i>New Studies 1938–1960</i> (Text pp. 2879–3205) (Oxford–London, 1967); vol. XV <i>Biblio-</i>

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- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| <i>StIr</i>  | <i>Studia Iranica</i> (Leiden)  |
| <i>SVOD</i>  | <i>Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov. Arkheologiya SSSR</i> (Moscow)  |
| <i>Syria</i> | <i>Syria</i> (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)  |
| <i>TPS</i>   | <i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> (London)  |
| <i>TSBA</i>  | <i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> (London)   |
| <i>UE</i>    | <i>Ur Excavations. Reports</i> (Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University of Pennsylvania in Mesopotamia Publications) (London, 1927–) |
| <i>UET</i>   | <i>Ur Excavations. Texts</i> (London, 1928–)  |
| <i>UGE</i>   | <i>J. Marquart, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran.</i> 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1905–6)   |
| <i>WO</i>    | <i>Die Welt des Orients</i> (Göttingen)   |
| <i>WZKM</i>  | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Vienna)   |
| <i>YCS</i>   | <i>Yale Classical Studies</i> (New Haven, Conn.)  |
| <i>ZA</i>    | <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> (Berlin)  |
| <i>ZAS</i>   | <i>Zeitschrift für Agyptische Sprache</i> (Leipzig)   |
| <i>ZDMG</i>  | <i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Wiesbaden)  |

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### *Persepolis*

(a) For the art of the classic Achaemenian period the basic works are still Erich F. Schmidt's volumes on Persepolis:

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- *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and other Discoveries*. Chicago, 1957 (Oriental Institute Publications 69).
- *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and other Monuments*. Chicago, 1970 (Oriental Institute Publications 70).

(b) To these are now added the publications by Ann Britt Tilia on the work of restoration and examination done by Giuseppe Tilia at Persepolis since 1964:

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(c) The model made by Friedrich Krefter in 1968 and the drawings of reconstructed buildings on the Persepolis Terrace are helpful to visualize the look of the buildings:

Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*. Berlin, 1971 (Teheraner Forschungen 3).

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— "Mission de Suse", *Iran* IX (1971), pp. 178–81.  
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Perrot, J. et al. "Recherches à Suse et en Susiane: Chaour", *Syria* XLVIII (1971), pp. 36–51.

"Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse" *JA* CCLX (1972): M. Kervran, "Le contexte archéologique", pp. 235–9; D. Stronach, "Description and comment", pp. 241–6; F. Vallat, "L'inscription cunéiforme trilingue", pp. 247–51. J. Yoyotte, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques; Darius et l'Egypte", pp. 253–66.

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Perrot, J. et al. (8 authors) *Recherches dans le secteur du tépé de l'Apadana*. *CDAFI* IV (1974).

(b) For the palace of Aratxerxes II on the Chaour (Sha'ūr) see:

Perrot, J. et al. (7 authors) *CDAFI* II (1972).

Boucharlat, R. et al. (5 authors) *CDAFI* X (1979).

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The most complete is:

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A selected list is:

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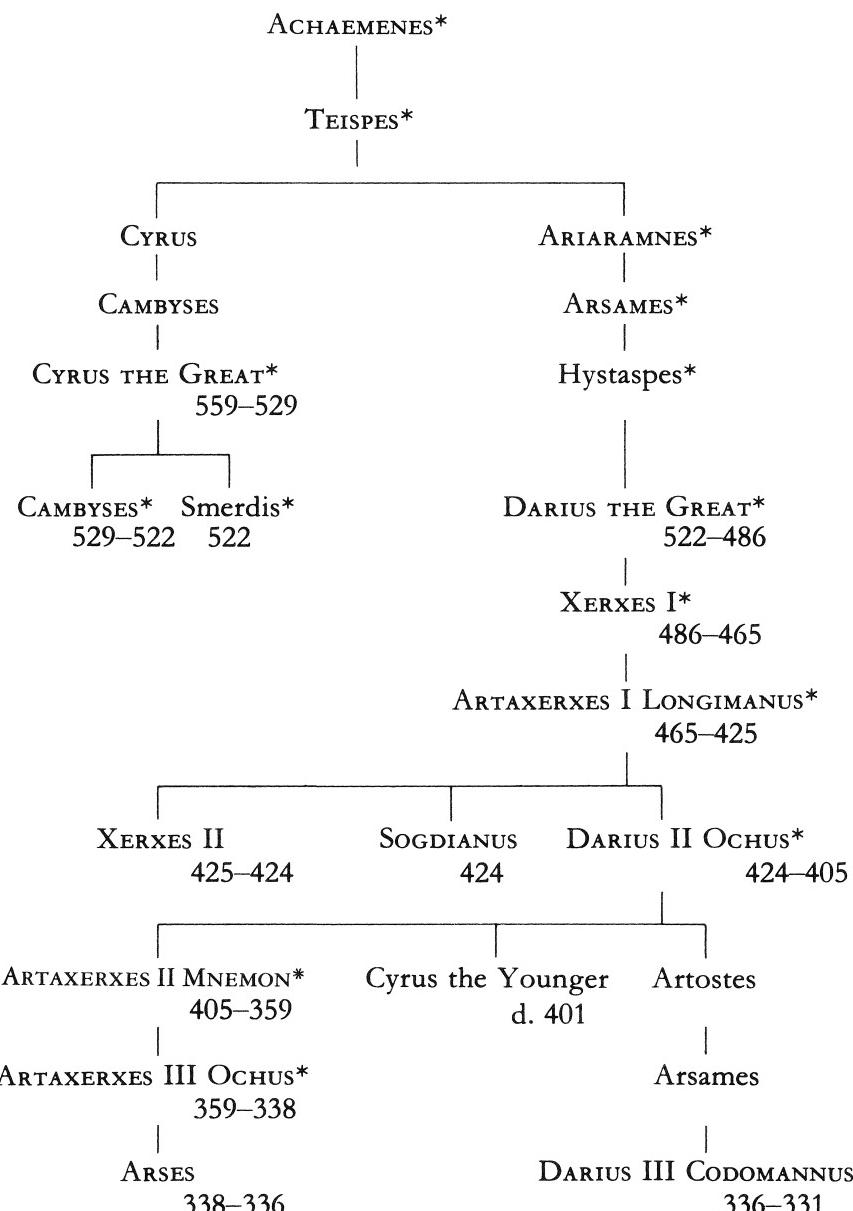
Since *AMI* VII (1974) every volume contains exhaustive bibliography with a section on Achaemenid works. Since 1978 *Studia Iranica* has an annual bibliographical supplement, *Abstracta Iranica*, which is very useful.

## CHAPTER 18

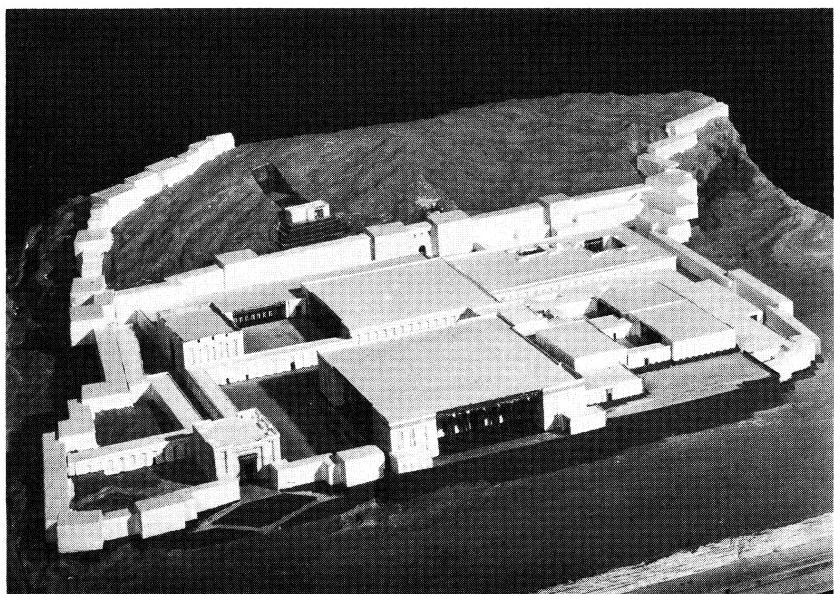
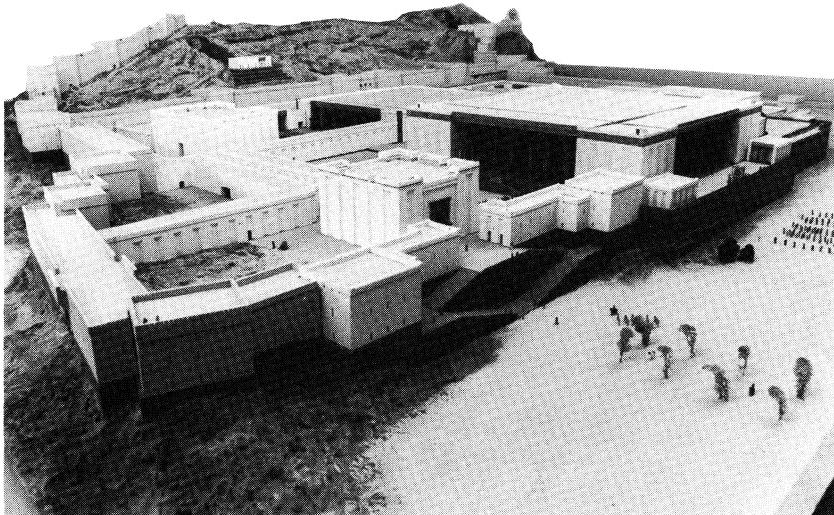
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## APPENDIX II

### THE ACHAEMENID DYNASTY<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Based on Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 158. Asterisks mark those Achaemenids who are named in the Old Persian inscriptions.

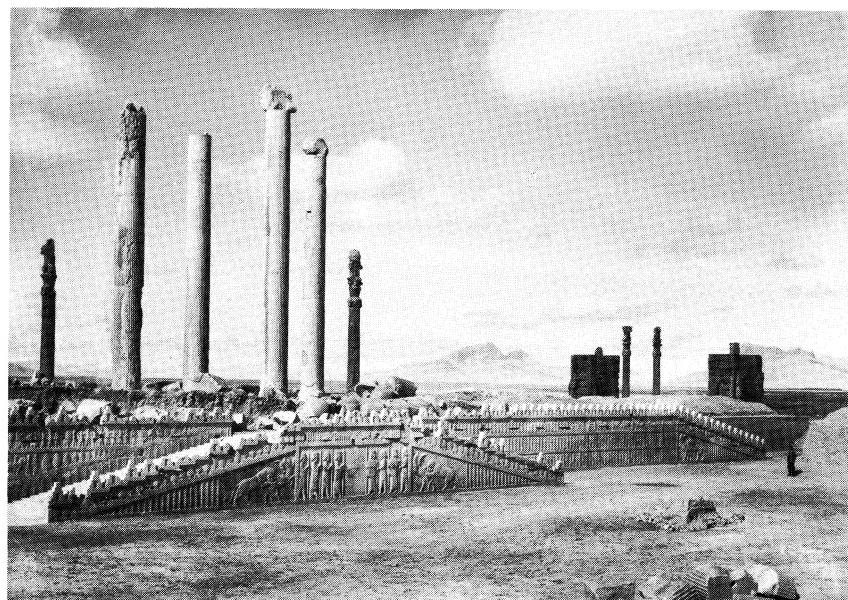


13 Persepolis, the terrace and its structures. Model by Friedrich Krefter.



14 Persepolis, the southern part of the west face of the terrace.

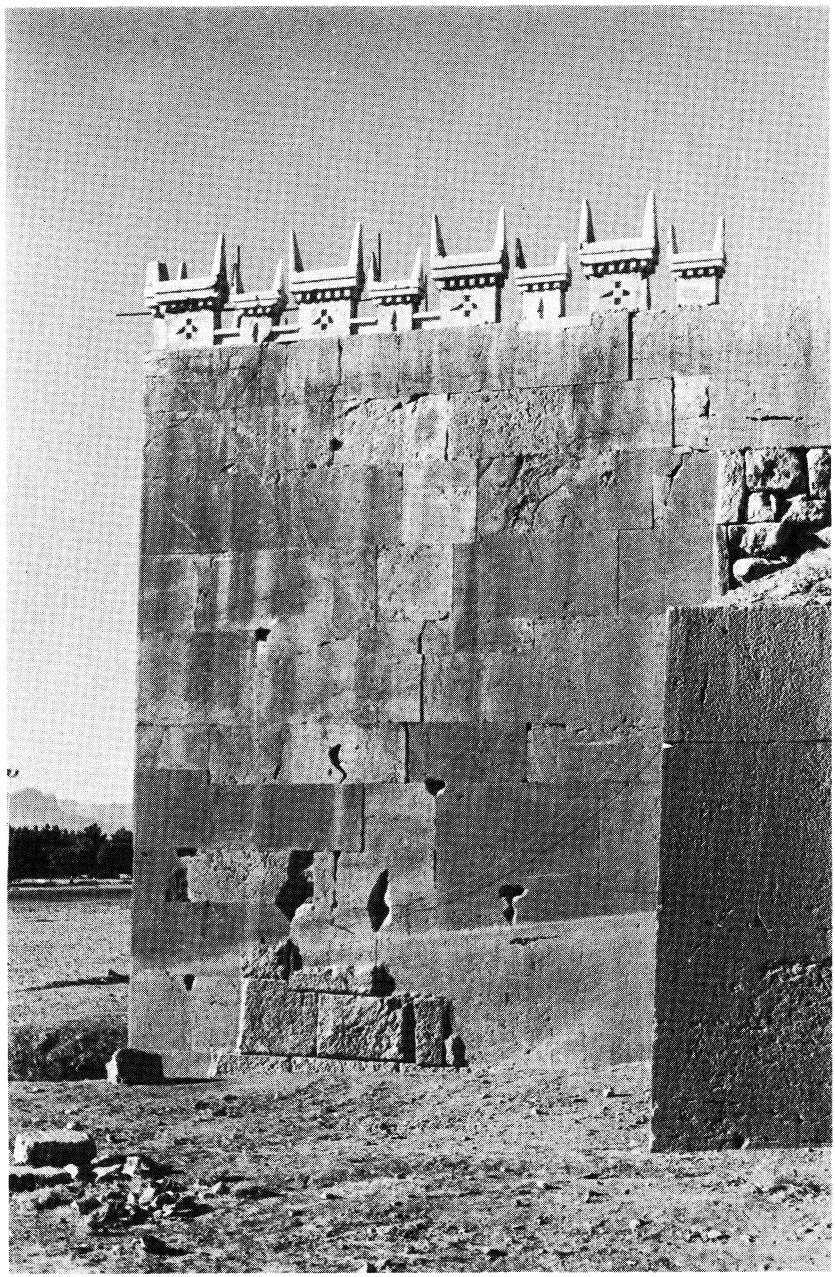
(a)



(b)

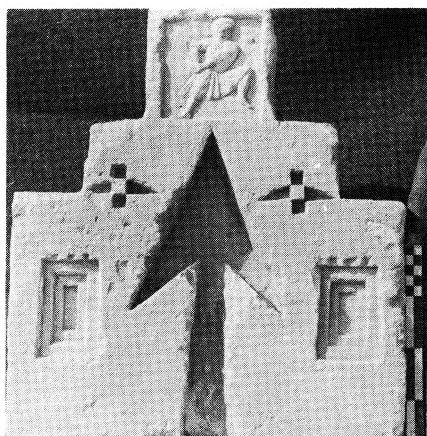


15 Persepolis (a) the eastern stairway of the Apadana, central and northern parts.  
(b) The Gate of All Lands.

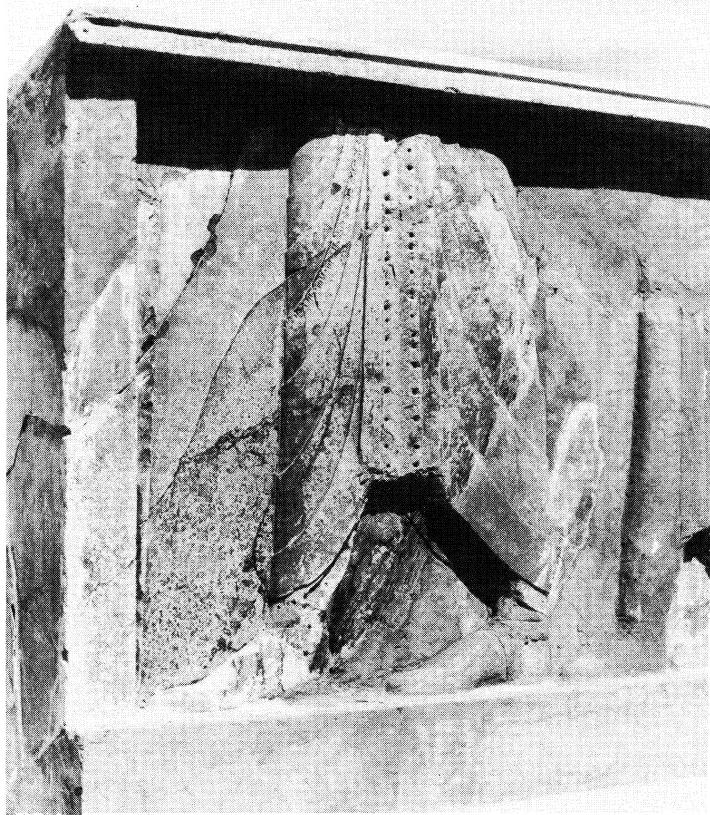


16 Persepolis, the Parapet reconstructed along the Terrace edge, south of Palace H.

(a)



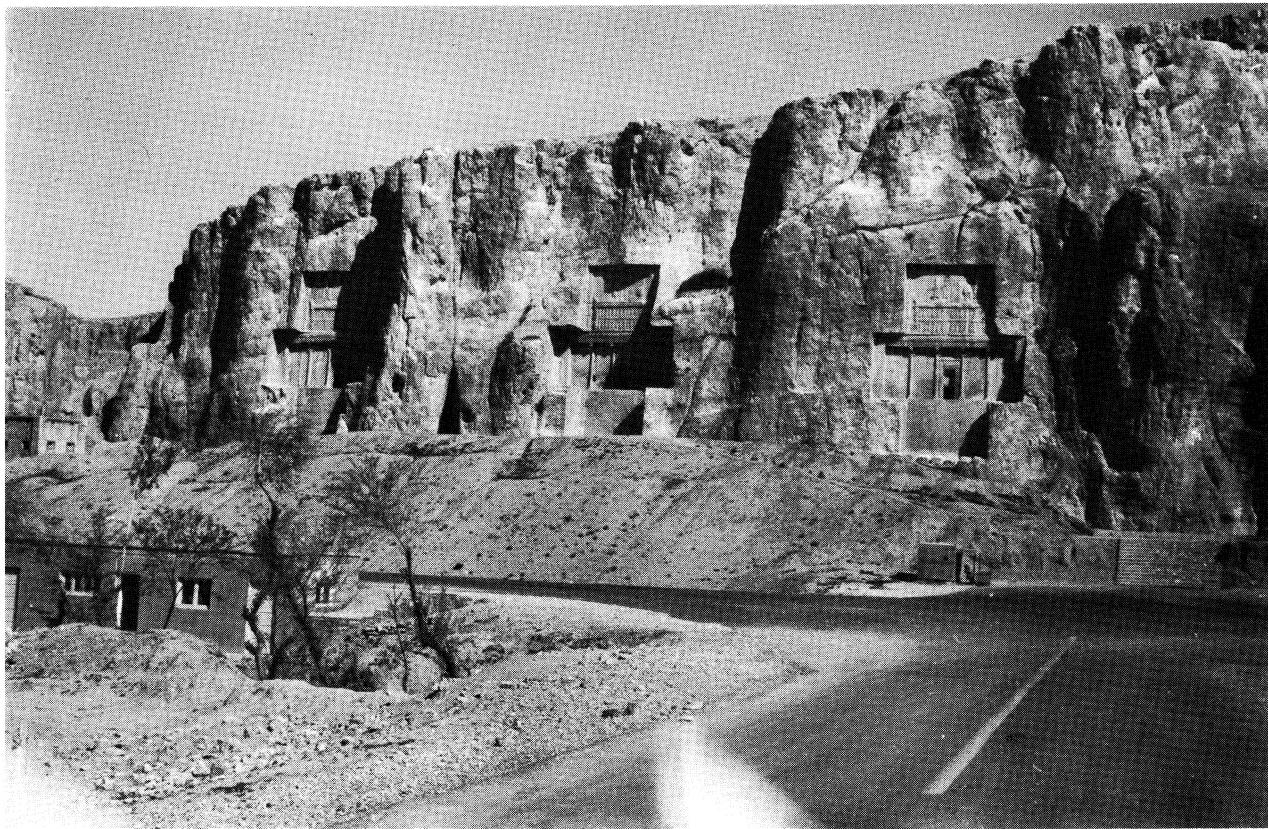
(b)



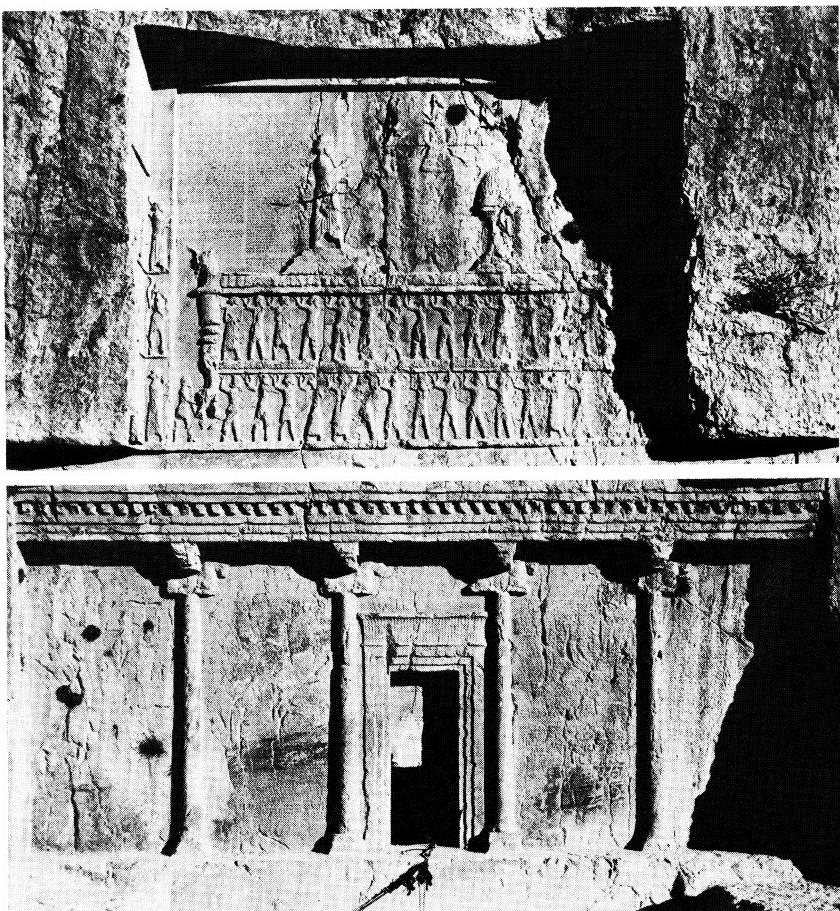
17 (a) Surkh Kotal, merlon in the Peribolos of the temple on the Acropolis.  
(b) Pasargadae, lower part of the figure of the king from Palace P.



18 Susa, glazed brick relief of guardsman from Palace of Darius I.



19 Naqsh-i Rustam, general view showing the rock-cut tombs of Darius I (right) and two of his successors.



20 Naqsh-i Rustam, façade of tomb of Darius I.



21 Naqsh-i Rustam, head of Gobryas from façade of tomb of Darius I.

(a)



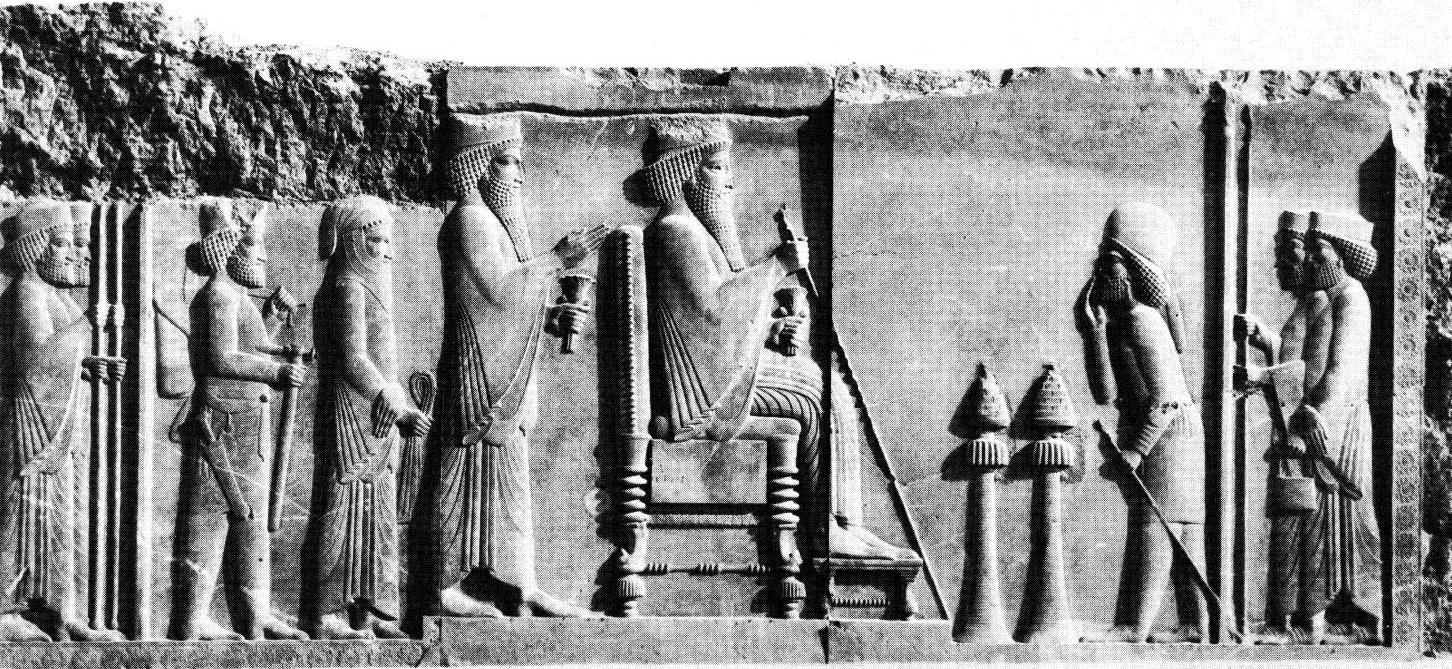
(b)



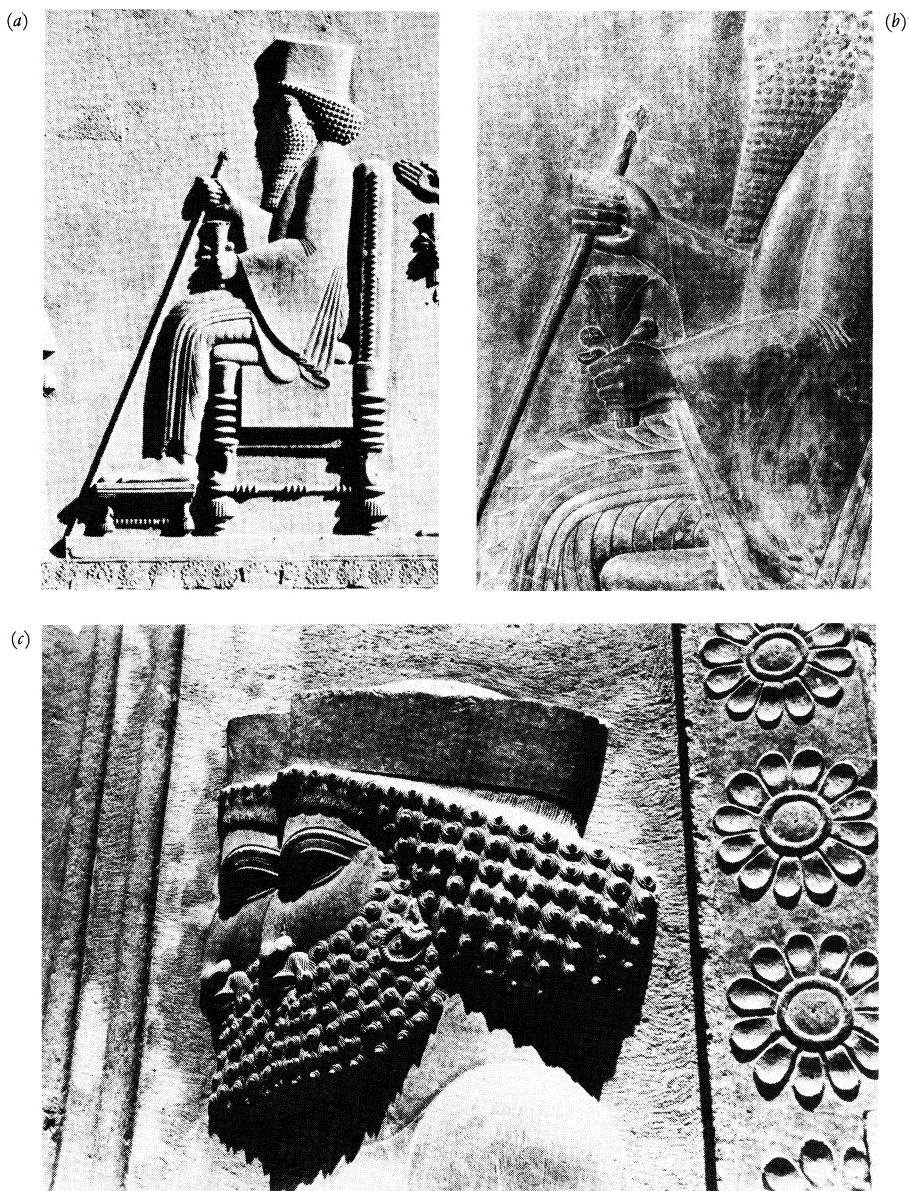
22 Persepolis, Palace of Darius

(a) Royal hero fighting with a lion.

(b) King walking into his chambers with two attendants.



23 Persepolis, southern Audience Relief, found in the Treasury (Archaeological Museum, Tehran).



24 Persepolis, eastern Audience Relief.  
(a) Figure of the king.  
(b) Detail of (a).  
(c) Heads of two attendants.



25 Susa. Statue of Darius excavated at the Gate.  
(Archaeological Museum, Tehran).

(a)



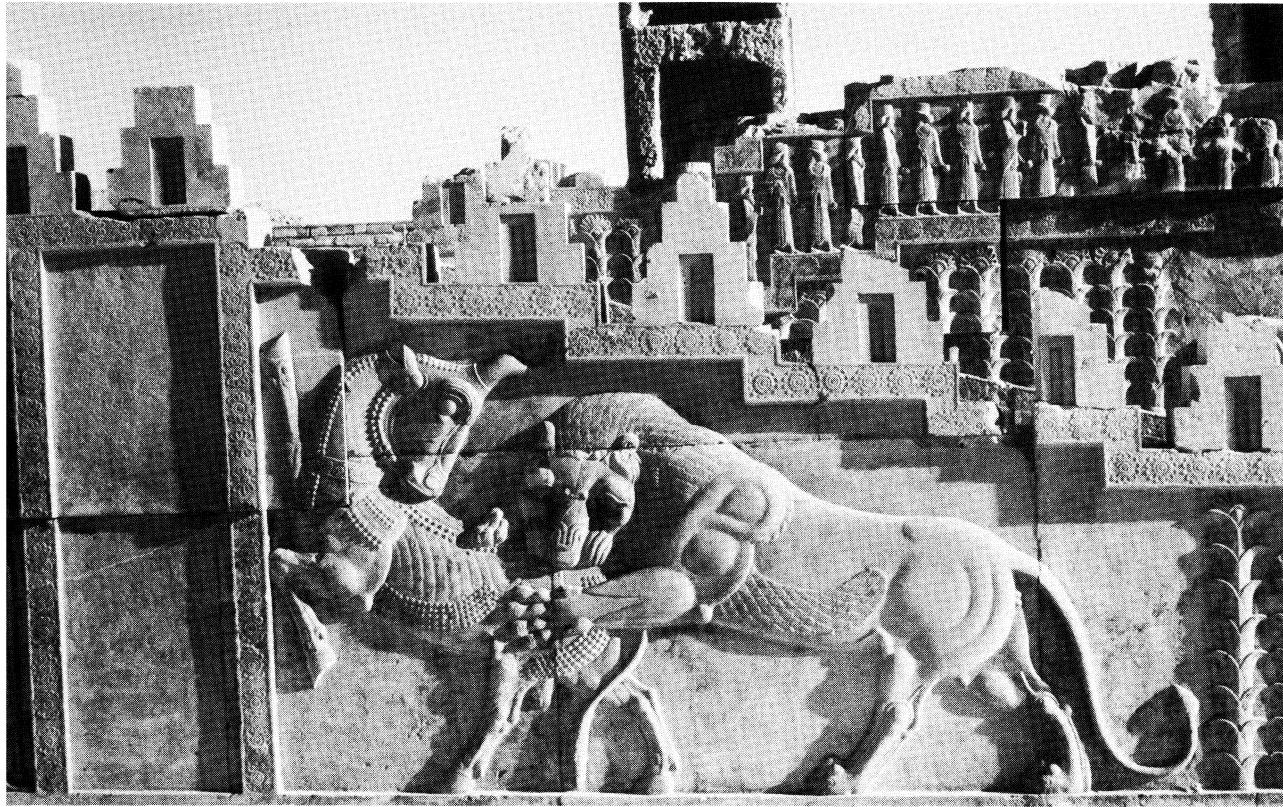
(b)



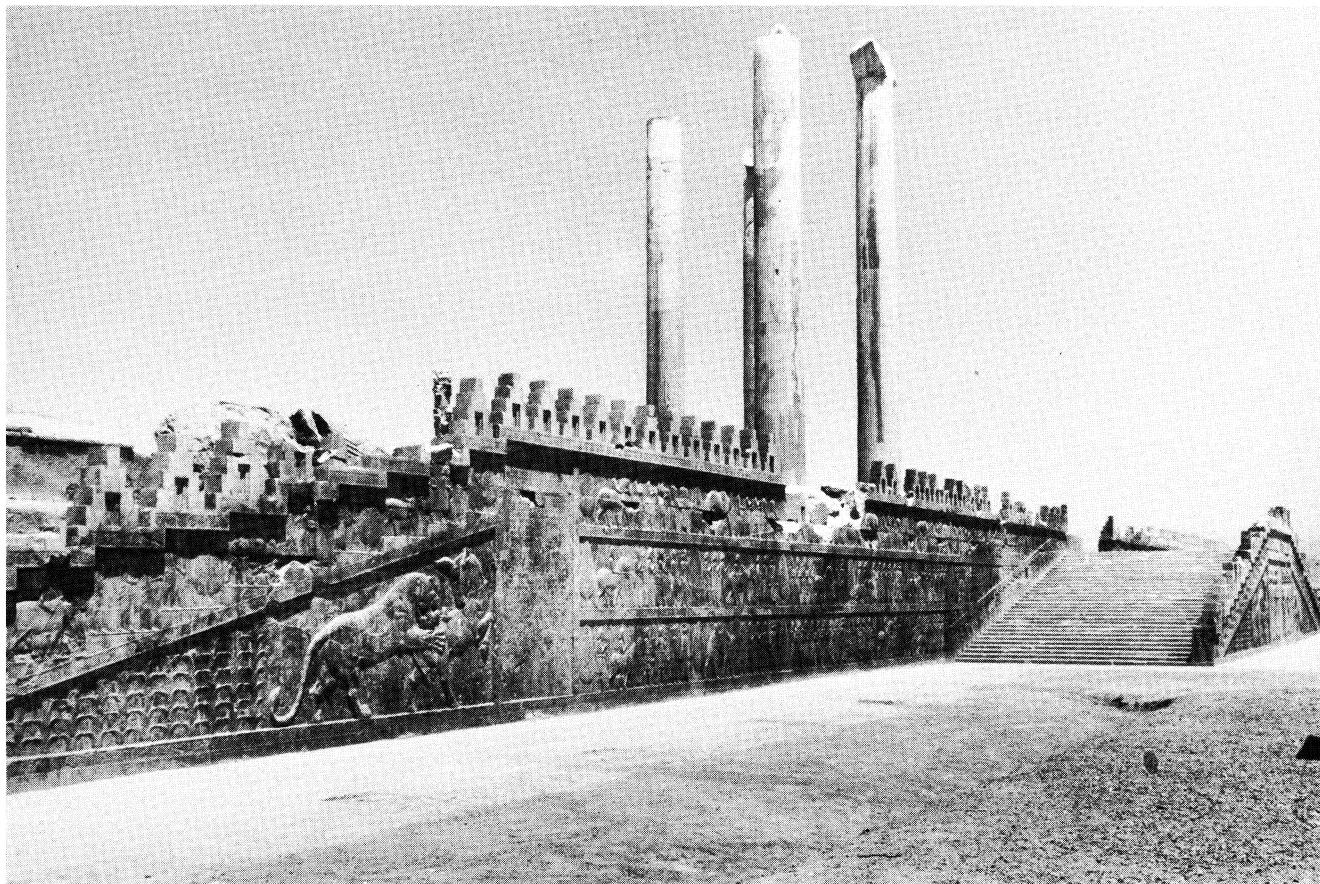
26 Susa. Statue of Darius.

(a) Detail.

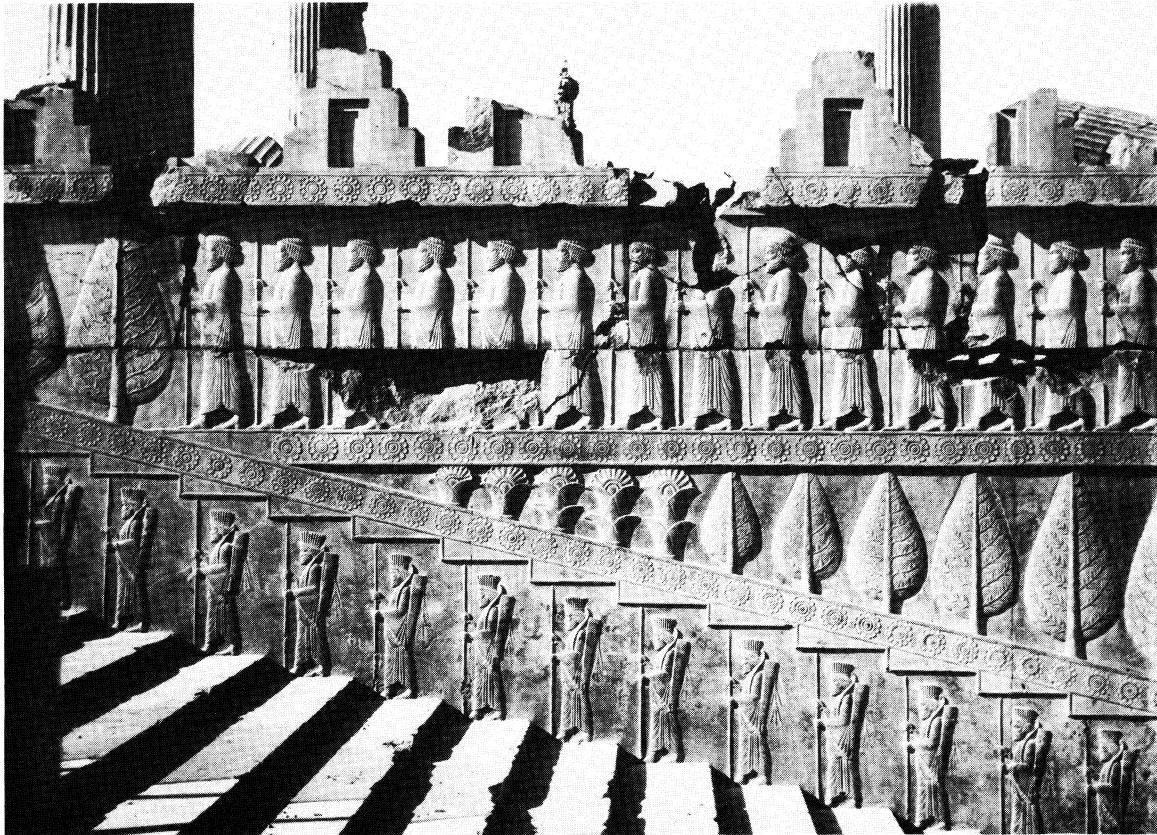
(b) socle.



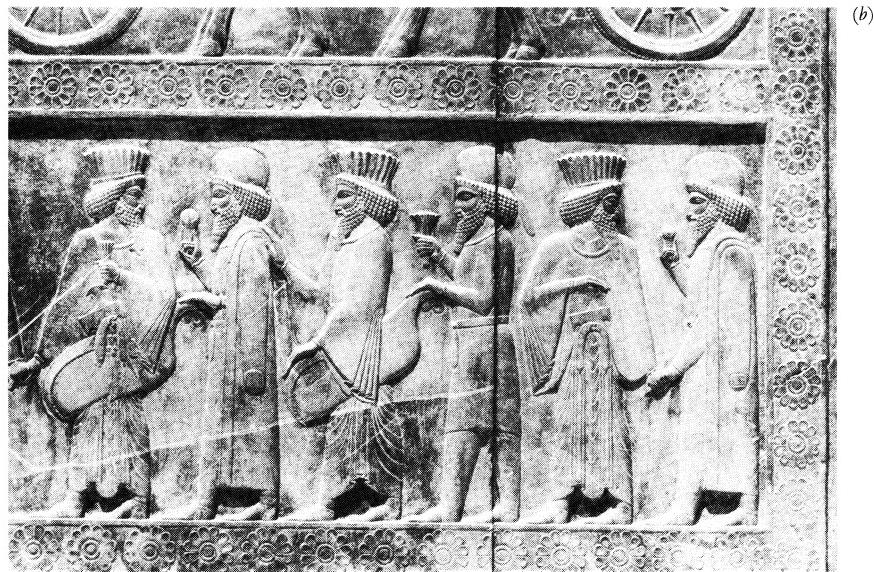
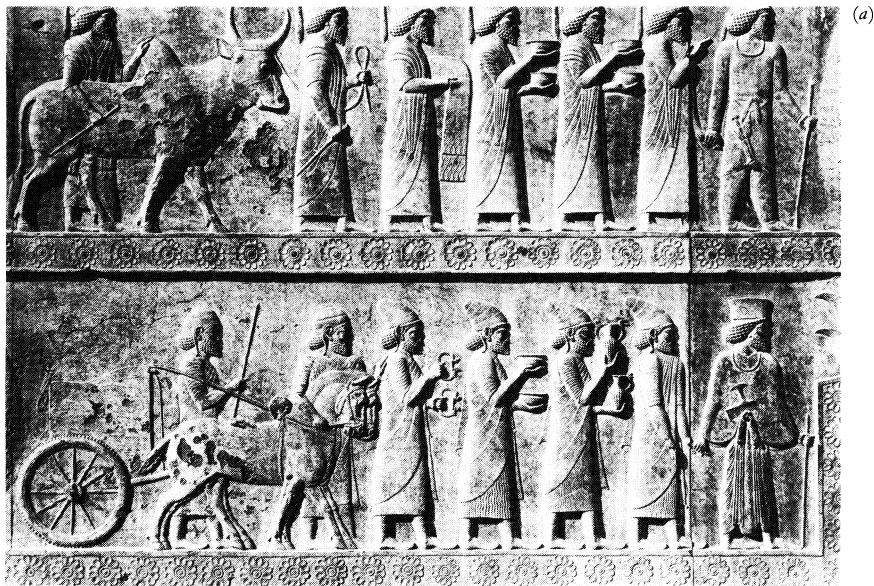
27 Persepolis. Lion and bull motif from the main stairway of the Tripylon.



28 Persepolis. The delegations on the south side of the Eastern Stairway façade.



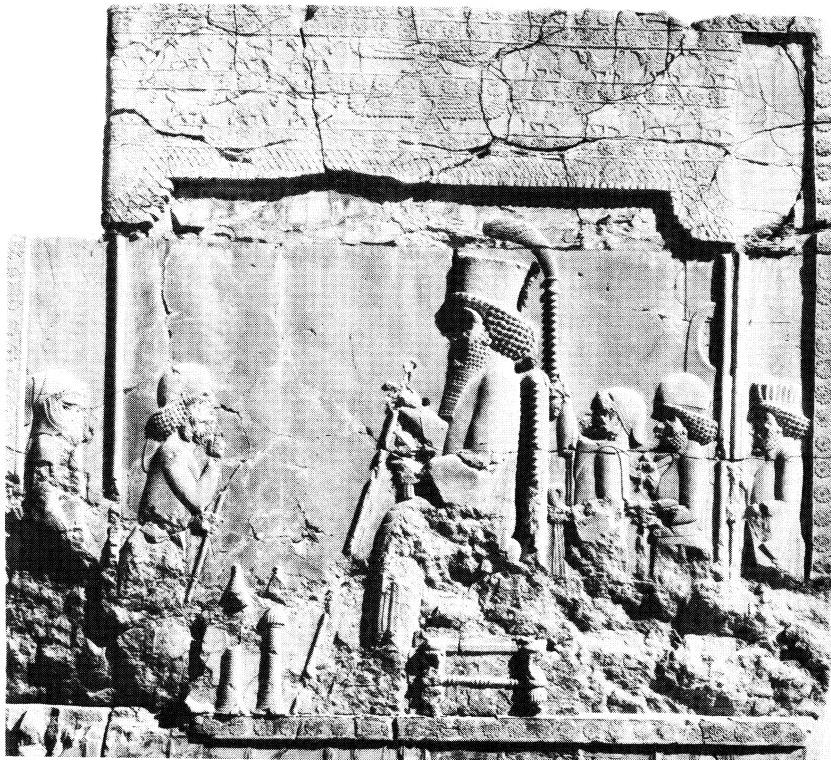
29 Persepolis. Archers and "Susian" guards on the west flank of the northern wing of the Eastern Stairway.



30 Persepolis.

(a) Delegation of the Lydians and Babylonians.

(b) Nobles on the northern wing of the Eastern Stairway of the Apadana.



31 Persepolis. Audience scene of Artaxerxes I on the eastern doorway of the northern wall in the Hundred Column Hall.



32 Persepolis. Throne relief of Artaxerxes I on the east jamb of the eastern doorway in the southern wall.